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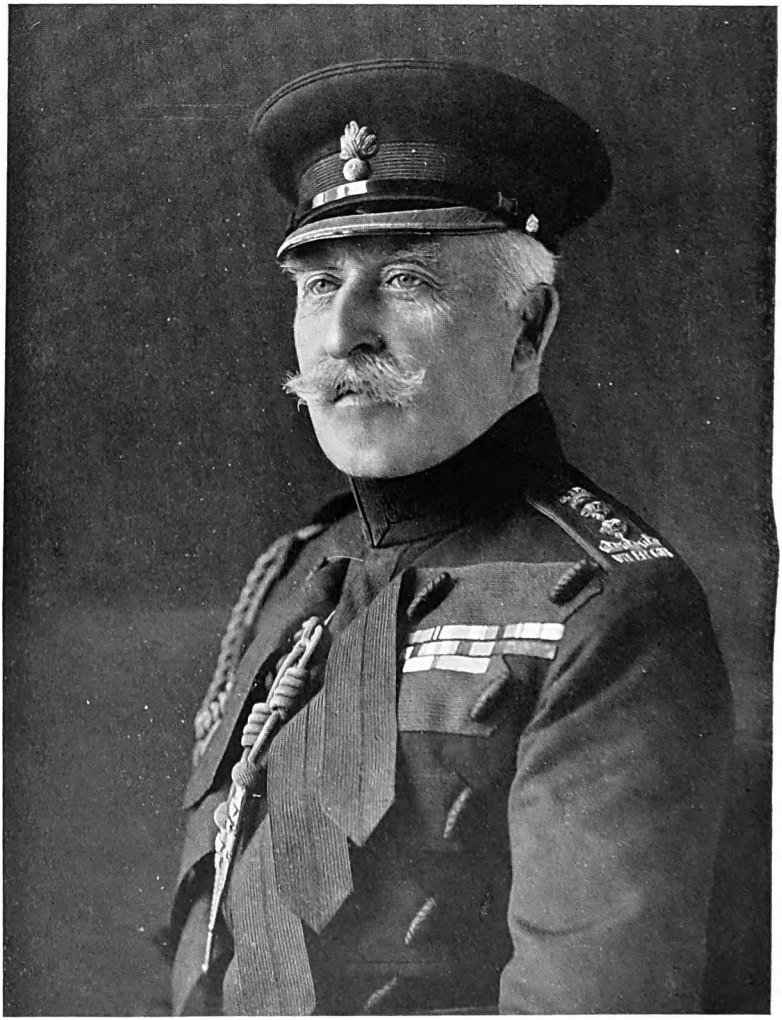

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT

President of the Royal Colonial Institute

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THE EMPIRE AT WAR

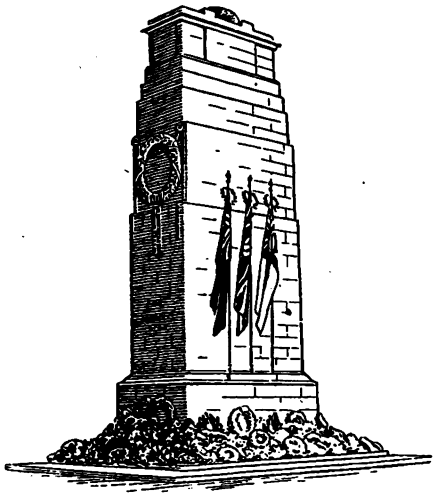
EDITED FOR THE

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE

BY

SIR CHARLES LUCAS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G

VOLUME III



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PREFACE

In this, as in all the volumes, Mr. R. L. Atkinson, M.C., has acted as sub-editor. The military portions have been revised by Mr. C. T. Atkinson, with his well-known expert knowledge of military history; and the maps and illustrations, the sources of which are acknowledged in the List, have been in the charge of Mr. Emery Walker. In the fighting story of Australia and New Zealand respectively, I was most fortunate in securing the collaboration of Mr. C. E. W. Bean and Mr. Malcolm Ross, on whose qualifications I need not enlarge. My thanks are also due to many others, who, for reasons given in the Preface to the last volume, must remain unnamed. I should have acknowledged before the kind help most courteously given by the Committee of Imperial Defence, Historical Section, Military Branch, in regard to the preparation of maps for the work; and the Military Intelligence Branch of the War Office has kindly lent maps of the Western Front for purposes of reference.

The place-names have been checked by the lists prepared by the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names.

The fourth (African) volume is now passing through the press, and the fifth and last (Eastern and Mediterranean) volume should be in the printers' hands in the course of the year.

C. P. LUCAS.

March 1924.

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* From maps drawn for and supplied by Mr. C. E. W. Bean.
† From material supplied by Mr. Malcolm Ross.

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SECTION I

AUSTRALIA AND THE WAR

BY THE EDITOR

EACH part of the Empire contributed to the war after its kind, and after its kind each part was affected by the war. All parts owned allegiance to one Sovereign and a common cause; to one and all the time was one of financial strain and interruption of trade, slowing down or bringing to a complete standstill development on normal lines. But, as the types and conditions of the peoples varied, so there was diversity in the outlook upon the war, in the political, social, and industrial tendencies and results which the war produced. As in peace, so in war, the distinction between the tropical provinces of the Empire and the self-governing Dominions was clearly marked; while among the self-governing Dominions the special features of each Dominion stood out in stronger relief, as the war ran its weary course, and laid bare the human bedrock of the young overseas nations.

Unlike Canada and South Africa, the Commonwealth of Australia is an all-British Dominion. The latest pre-war census taken in 1911 showed that 97 per cent. of the population had been born in Australia, New Zealand, or the United Kingdom. Among the small remainder, born outside the Empire, Germans were most numerous, but numbered barely 33,000, principally in South Australia and Queensland. In the words of the official Year Book of the Commonwealth,[1] 'The population of Australia is fundamentally British. . . . The Australian, at present, is little other than a transplanted Briton, with the essential characteristics of his British forbears, the desire for freedom from restraint, however, being perhaps somewhat accentuated.'

The first great feature, then, in the history of Australia and the Australians is that here the British race has had the field to itself, without rivalry or interference from any other

[1] *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*, No. 9, 1901–15, pp. 101–2.

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European nationality. But there have been other outstanding features. The native race or races of Australia, few in number and low in grade, were never at any time a serious obstacle or menace to colonization and settlement. The field was of vast area; the climate made year in and year out for open-air conditions; the island continent was far removed from the Mother Country and from Europe; and lastly, Australia was first colonized late in modern history. The net result has been the evolution of a British people having, in strong contrast to the conditions of their old home, unlimited elbow room and open-air life; not threatened in infancy either from without or from within, and therefore not compelled to hold closely together for purposes of defence, but free to plant separate colonies and isolated stations, to range and live at will. Distance precluded constant and effective tutelage from home; by the time that the settlements had outgrown infancy, the principles of colonial self-government had already been contended for and established elsewhere in the Empire; and, while in the Australian colonies, as in other young communities, there were growing pains and from time to time elements of friction with the mother country, self-government was not belated in Australia, or in any true sense extorted from reluctant rulers over seas; it came more or less in the ordinary course of progress. At no stage in their development were the Australian colonists confronted with wars, with white men or with coloured; they had not the traditions of constant fighting, such as crowded the history of Canada and South Africa and were not unknown in Newfoundland and New Zealand. Theirs was exclusively 'the war with the wilderness'; they replenished the earth and literally subdued it, as virile through their blood, their adventurous training, and their self-reliant lives, as though their lines had been cast on a perpetual battlefield. Australia became emphatically a home of democracy, called into existence, and having its existence shaped and coloured, by natural conditions, not by the pressure of artificial causes; a democracy of a British type, but more advanced, more sure of itself by far, than in the Old World; a democracy which within Australia went its own way, and took its own lines, slightly different lines in the different colonies; a democracy which had spacious views drawn from the great spaces of its continent and not even bounded by the

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shores of that continent; finally, a democracy in which manual labour early asserted its rights and in no long time its control.

Settlements were founded at long distances from each other, and growth of population made for separate political entities, as, in respect of the relations of Australia to the Mother Country, it made for colonial self-government. Thus, six self-governing colonies eventually emerged, each having its own type and its own special interests. They were slow to federate, because there was no pressing need for federation; and when they did federate, the federation or Commonwealth was marked by two main characteristics. On the one hand, it was framed on an ultra-democratic basis; on the other it was, as contrasted with the older Dominion of Canada, and still more with the later-born Union of South Africa, essentially a loosely knit federation, in which very large and substantial powers were left to the individual colonies or states. All white adults in the Commonwealth, women as well as men, have the franchise; the Lower House, the House of Representatives, is given a life of three years only, calling the electorate into play at short intervals; the Upper House, like the Senate of the United States, designed to mark the individuality of the contracting parties by giving to every State the same number of Senators, irrespective of population, is not, like most Upper Houses, less democratic, but if possible, more democratic than the Lower; it is elected on the same franchise, but each State polls as a single constituency, the rule of numbers being thereby made more absolute. On the other hand, in any three years, only half the seats in the Senate are vacated, except on the rare occasions when both Houses are dissolved. The referendum is provided by the constitution, and has been freely used. The State Legislatures, in turn, are democratic also, and, still retaining large powers, they have been in effect a check upon the Commonwealth Parliament, although in the Constitution Act the spheres of State and Commonwealth are clearly demarcated. Unification has consequently been, in a growing degree, a plank in the platform of the Commonwealth Labour party; the extension of railways, by facilitating communication, has pointed in the same direction; and so has the acquisition of territories inside and outside Australia under the direct control of the Commonwealth Government. In time of war, an unquestioned central authority, and organized obedience to

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that authority, is an immense source of strength. In Australia this was conspicuous by its absence ; and, in order to appreciate the part taken by Australia in the war, the difficulties of Australia, the tendencies and actions of the Australian public and Australian statesmen at different stages in the war, it is necessary to grasp the fact that Australia entered on the crisis under a limited federation, in which as a whole, and in the component parts of which, democracy was all powerful, but in a guise which gave more than full play to all the fissiparous elements within a single commonwealth, to state, to party, and to class. It was a young Commonwealth, cradled in freedom, framed for peace, without the cohesion and discipline which war demands for the immediate purpose of using the utmost possible strength of a people to the greatest possible effect.

The element of outward pressure had been wanting to speed up the federation. For many years there was no rival European nation on the threshold. In the early days of Australian colonization Great Britain had only one serious competitor in the Pacific, France ; and it was not until 1853 that the French annexed New Caledonia, thereby establishing a foreign dependency within measurable distance of Australia. The fact that New Caledonia was in 1864 made a French penal settlement, whence criminals found their way to the continent, gave to Australia a foreign question, and subsequently Anglo-French relations in the New Hebrides were a matter of constant Australian concern, eliciting views which did not usually coincide with those of the Mother Country. But the Pacific is a wide ocean, and the Monroe doctrine of Australians and New Zealanders with regard to the Pacific was not so pronounced in earlier times as in the last forty years.

A wholly new phase in the foreign relations of Australia came into being when in the eighties the Germans established themselves in the Pacific. How Queensland would have forestalled Germany in taking New Guinea, how the action of Queensland was turned down by the Home Government, what resentment the sequel caused in Australia against the British statesmen of the day, is matter of history. The transaction left behind it no love for Germany in Australia, and many Australians welcomed the opening, which the war offered, for redeeming the past. But not until the war came, was a far greater

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German peril to Australia realized, a peril from within, which consisted in peaceful penetration, to use a most inaccurate euphemism, and was embodied in commercial monopolies and trade combines. By common consent, before the war, German settlers in Australia made excellent citizens of Australia. Notwithstanding, if Australians saw in any other nation of European blood an inconvenient neighbour and a potential enemy, that nation was Germany ; and the war, when it came, shaped itself to them not only as a fight for the Empire, not only as a fight for democracy, but also as a suitable occasion for ridding the Pacific of a power, whose room was distinctly preferable to its company.

Though never measured, in their own behalf, against white foes or coloured, though far removed from war and war's alarms, the Australians were wholly devoid of pacifist tendencies. It has been seen in the first volume that these colonies were in the forefront to begin providing for their own defence, that they were in the forefront in creating an army and navy of their own, in introducing compulsory military training, that they led the overseas peoples in taking part in Empire wars. Non-intervention never had a place in the Australian programme ; and apart from other motives, the fact that war had not entered into their history within Australia may well have inclined this most adventurous British stock to test their mettle outside Australia and take a hand in British fighting beyond their own shores. Distance softens the landscape to the eye and sound to the ear ; even so, the distance of Australia from the ' old country ', the land in which till latter days the majority of Australians had been born, did not weaken the tie of blood or deaden the call of race ; on the contrary it tended, by lending enchantment, to preserve or even to strengthen the feeling of community. Interference from home the Australians would have none of, recognition from home they would have more of ; they were out to be active not sleeping, equal not subordinate, partners in the Empire. Their national policy, again, a white Australia, a British continent, and a Pacific in which the leadership of the English-speaking peoples should be unquestioned, was a policy with a very wide horizon. Few in number, in comparison with the continent which they owned and the future which they planned, in a steadily increasing degree they took practical steps to make

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their professions fructify and their dreams come true. Unlike the other self-governing dominions, Australia and New Zealand owned island dependencies at a distance from their own shores. Belief in their future was not confined to themselves alone. As far back as 1859 Disraeli spoke of their potential greatness in terms which, somewhat exaggerated at the time, now read like a prophecy: 'The day is coming, if it has not already come, when the question of the balance of Power cannot be confined to Europe alone. . . . The Australian colonies, though now in their youth, but in the youth of giants, have already, as it were, cast their colossal shadow over Europe.'[1]

The two political parties, into which Australian democracy bisected itself, were Liberal and Labour. The term Conservative dropped out; it did not sound sufficiently democratic. In the Commonwealth the first Labour Government, a short-lived Government, under a statesmanlike leader, Mr. Watson, came into power in 1904; and between the 1st of January 1901, the birthday of the Commonwealth, and the 4th of August 1914, there had been in all three Labour Administrations, one of which completed its full term of Parliamentary life. There were Labour Ministries, too, in and out, in the different States as well as in the Commonwealth. At an earlier date in Australia than anywhere else in the British Empire, Labour took its turn of power and of responsibility. Sharply divided on domestic issues, on incidence of taxation, on social and industrial questions, the two parties were at one as to the duty of safeguarding the nation. It was a Labour Government which brought into operation the system of compulsory military training for home defence;[2] the Maternity Allowance Act, carried by Mr. Fisher in 1912, which, on old Roman lines, gave a bounty to mothers of future Australian citizens, showed that Labour recognized the danger to the Commonwealth of not adding to the white population; and the trend of Labour legislation and policy, always in the direction of unifying the Commonwealth, and enlarging the scope of Government control, was along the lines which, under the abnormal conditions of war, are necessary for protecting and maintaining the life of

[1] *Life of Disraeli*, by G. E. Buckle, vol. iv, p. 231.

[2] The first Act was passed in 1909 by the Deakin Ministry, in which Sir Joseph Cook, as stated in the text, was Minister of Defence, but it was amended and brought into operation, after Lord Kitchener's visit, in the following year, by the Labour Ministry.

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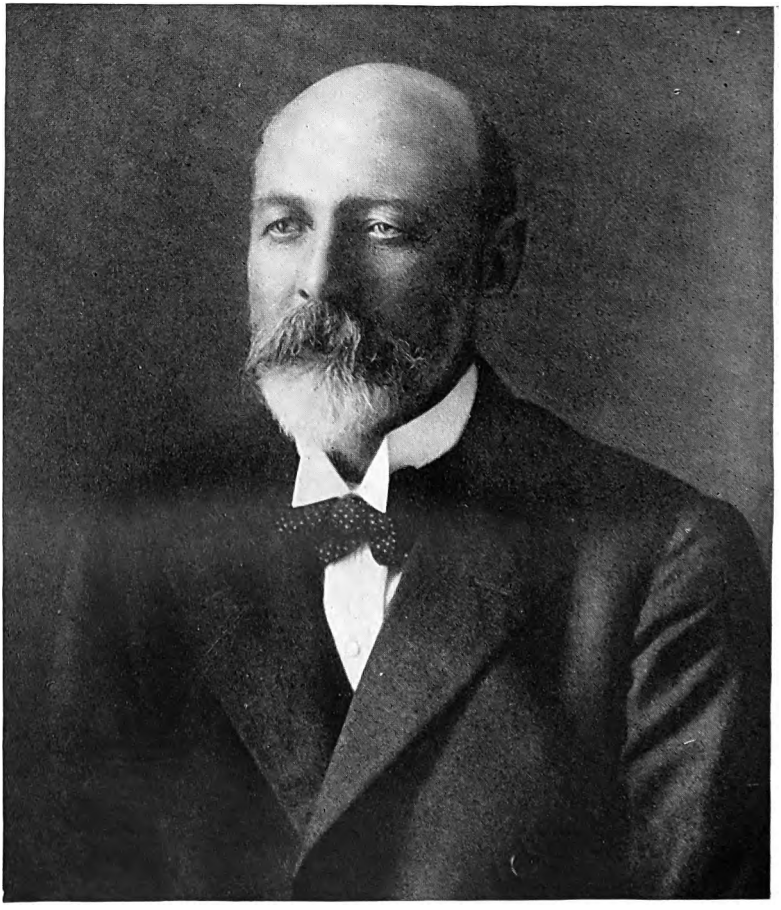

SIR JOSEPH COOK

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a nation. A general election in 1913 had resulted in a Liberal majority of one in the House of Representatives, while leaving the Labour party in a very strong majority in the Senate. A Liberal Ministry replaced the former Labour Ministry; but the inevitable result of the election was a deadlock and one of the constitutional crises which are a familiar feature in Australian politics. Acting on the advice of his ministers, the Governor-General, Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson (now Viscount Novar), who had only taken up his office in May 1914, early in June applied the section in the Constitution Act, which was framed to meet such a contingency as had now come to pass, and for the first time in the short history of the Commonwealth [1] dissolved both houses. Parliament was prorogued on the 27th of June and the General Election was fixed for September; in the interval came the war.

The leaders of the two parties at the time were of much the same age, 54 and 52 respectively; they had started life in much the same way; neither of them was Australian-born and they came out to Australia in the same year, 1885. Their careers illustrate how fair a field the overseas democracies offer to men of ability and determination. Joseph Cook (now Sir Joseph Cook), the Prime Minister and Liberal Leader, had been a boy in the Staffordshire coal mines; he had emigrated to New South Wales at the age of 25, had been a working miner in the colony, a miner's secretary, and a Labour member in the New South Wales Legislature. He had broken with the Parliamentary Labour Party for some years before the birth of the Commonwealth; in the Commonwealth Parliament he had sat as a Liberal, he had been Minister of Defence under Mr. Deakin, and in that capacity carried the first act for compulsory military training; he succeeded Mr. Deakin in the leadership of the Liberal party in January 1913, when that gifted and attractive statesman retired from public life, and he became Prime Minister in June of that year. Andrew Fisher was a Scotsman, in early days an Ayrshire miner; he went out to Queensland at the age of 23; from the Queensland mines he went on to the Queensland Legislature and to the Commonwealth Parliament. He held office in the first Labour Ministry of the Commonwealth, and was Prime Minister in the second

[1] According to *The Round Table* for September 1914, p. 734, this was the first instance in the British Empire of the dissolution of a Second Chamber.

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and third, being the first Labour Prime Minister to take part in an Imperial Conference. In the Liberal ranks a foremost figure was the veteran Sir John Forrest, afterwards Lord Forrest, distinguished as an Australian explorer as well as in Australian politics. Australian-born, he had served his native state, Western Australia, under the old régime before the days of responsible government; he had led it when responsible government came to pass, and more than any one man he had contributed to its development and deservedly risen with its rise. The Attorney-General in the Cook administration, Sir William Irvine, had been a conspicuously strong and upright premier of the State of Victoria. On the opposite side, the Attorney-General in recent Labour Ministries, Mr. Hughes, of whom more will be said, was by common consent a man of marked ability; while Labour had found in Mr. Pearce a very capable Minister of Defence, who, in that office, commanded public confidence in no ordinary degree, and had been in charge of the military problems of Australia at the Imperial Conference of 1911.

The war came upon Australia at a singularly inopportune moment. A severe and prolonged drought prevailed throughout the southern part of the continent, specially felt in the States of South Australia and Victoria; there was much loss of sheep and shortage of wheat, New South Wales alone having a surplus of wheat for export. The learned life of Australia was intent upon a long arranged and carefully planned visit of leaders of science from Europe and America for the first meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science ever held in Australia, and the arrival of the visitors coincided to the day with the outbreak of war. The public at large was concerned with the imminent General Election. In the midst of it all came the call to arms. The Annual Register for 1914 records: 'The scenes of enthusiasm which attended the departure of the first contingents from Australia found no parallel in the United Kingdom, and the Australian people were at the same time far more anxious and "jumpy".'[1] These last words do not coincide with the impression left on the mind of the present writer, who spent the first month of the war in Australia. In the very first days distance from the immediate scene of action tended to increase the inevitable crop of unfounded rumours,

[1] *Annual Register* for 1914, p. [495.

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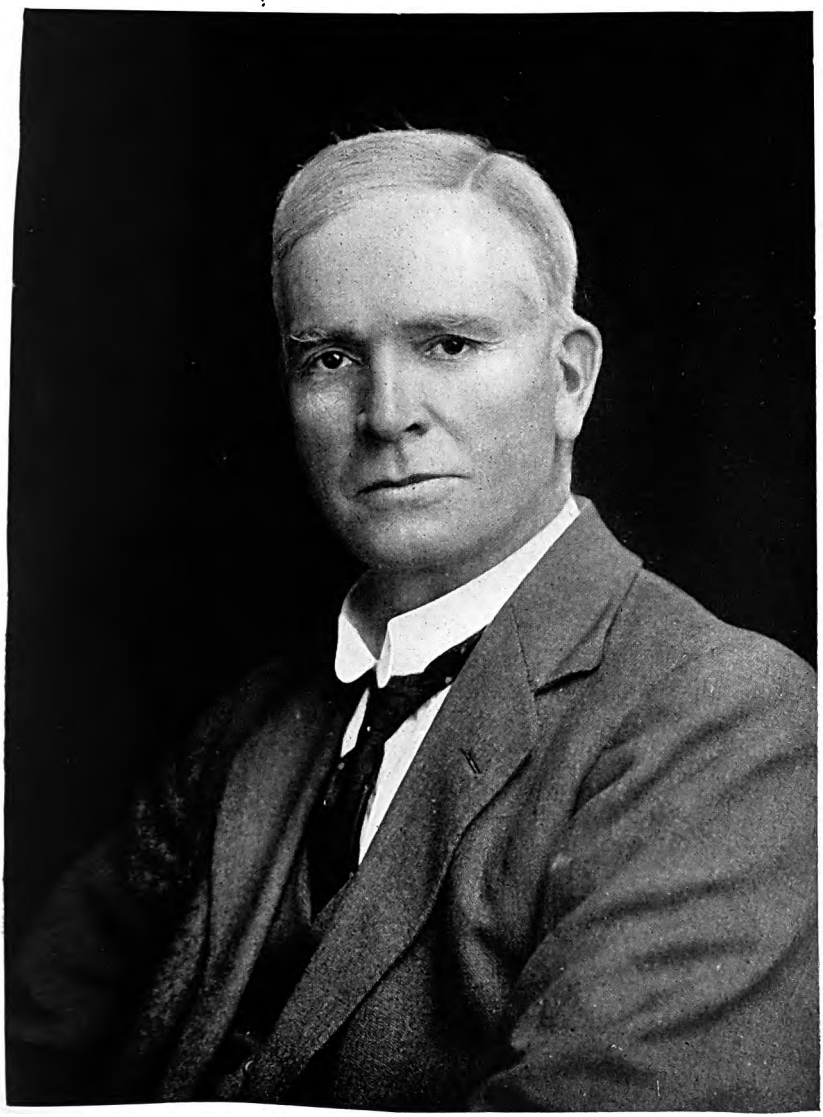

ANDREW FISHER

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and newspapers reported battles which had never taken place, but any signs either of public hysteria or of vain over-confidence were conspicuous by their absence. What was in evidence was unity of purpose and resolve, all men and women seeming to divine by instinct that the testing hour had come, and giving heart and soul to meet it. All combined to prepare for war by personal service in one form or another; all contributed, with splendid Australian generosity, in money and in kind; all combined again, while preparing for war, to carry on without stint or stoppage the normal life of the nation. 'Our duty is quite clear,' said the Prime Minister, on the 6th of August, 'to gird up our loins and remember that we are Britons,' and the Australians girded up their loins in grim earnest.

Liberals and Labour were at one on the war. Mr. Fisher was as emphatic as Mr. Cook; and overtures were made from the Labour Opposition to postpone the General Election and call the old Parliament into life again. But all the arrangements for an election had been made; an Imperial Act would have been needed to revive the old Parliament; its revival would have perpetuated the conditions which made either party helpless against the other; and, in the event of the party truce breaking down, would have made Government again impossible. Accordingly, the Liberal Ministers let the Election take its course; it was held at the time appointed and resulted in a Labour majority; the new Ministry came into office on the 17th of September; and on the 8th of October the Legislature met again.

Much had happened in the meantime; and first the outgoing, then the incoming Ministers, in consultation, when necessary, with their political opponents, had taken such immediate steps as the crisis demanded, anticipating Parliamentary approval of the expenditure involved. On the eve of the war, as is told elsewhere, an expeditionary force of 20,000 men was offered to the Imperial Government; when the war opened, the offer was gladly accepted, with a request that the force should be sent as soon as possible, and the organization of a division and a Light Horse Brigade proceeded apace. September had hardly begun when the Home Government was notified that another Infantry Brigade and a second Light Horse Brigade, over 6,000 men, would follow, and periodical reinforcements were promised. The same telegram which

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offered an expeditionary force, intimated that, in the event of war, the Australian Navy would be placed at the disposal of the Admiralty, and on the 10th of August an order went forth accordingly, transferring all the Commonwealth vessels, and their complements of officers and men, to the King's naval forces for the period of the war. At this date another expedition was being organized to attack the Germans in the Pacific, and on the 19th of August some 1,500 men were dispatched from Sydney to German New Guinea under escort of Australian warships. From the very beginning the Australian Navy went busily to work in the Pacific, patrolling the seas, convoying New Zealand troops to Samoa, co-operating in the capture of the German possessions, destroying or securing the German wireless stations, the flagship of the squadron, the *Australia*, being of heavier calibre than any German cruiser on that side of the world. Before the end of September the German footholds in the Pacific had ceased to be, and the infant fleet of the Commonwealth had more than justified its creation. Finance of necessity received immediate attention, and one of the first steps taken was to hold a conference at Melbourne between the leaders of the Government and the Opposition in the Commonwealth and the State Premiers to clear the way for the inevitable borrowing and to avoid competition between States and Commonwealth in the money market. The arrangement which was ultimately arrived at will be noted presently. The State Premiers were further consulted with a view to uniform legislation by the States in order to control the prices of foodstuffs; while a short-lived Royal Commission, with Mr. Deakin as chairman, was appointed to inquire and report, among other matters, as to what necessaries, including foodstuffs, were likely to be required by and to be available in Australia for Australian purposes during the war, and what would be the probable surplus available for export, the needs of the Mother Country being always borne in mind. There were again immediate executive measures and precautions to be taken against the enemy within as well as without, German subjects to be interned, German ships in Australian harbours to be held up; day by day, in constant touch with the Home Government, the Australian Ministers put the household of the Commonwealth on a war footing and locked the door to those who were not of the household.

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In the first volume emphasis has been laid upon the fact that the war was essentially an Empire war, a war in which all parts of the Empire were primarily concerned, not one in which they participated merely in a secondary degree, following the lead of, and giving loyal support to, the United Kingdom. This was emphatically true of Australia. The future of the Pacific was at stake; Australian interests were immediately involved; Australian destinies were directly menaced. But insistence upon this truth must not be taken as in any way belittling the strength of the feeling towards the Mother Country which the war called forth. 'We Australians', said Mr. Fisher, 'will help and defend the Mother Country to our last man and our last shilling.' To all time it should be recorded how strong was the evidence of the family tie in all the Oversea Dominions, how generous was the recognition of the protection under which in past times the young democracies had been able to grow to manhood and consolidate their freedom. When the war came, not only did Australians offer men and ships, asking no price, attaching no conditions, making no bargains, leaving the disposal entirely to the freewill discretion of the War Office and Admiralty; but in Australian minds, as in the minds of all the overseas peoples of the Empire, there was thought, instantaneous and unbidden, for the Old Country, the thickly peopled island home, likely to be straitened by the sudden stroke of war. Foodstuffs and other necessaries were promptly shipped across the seas, as welcome in substance as in the manner of giving, and the Government placed an embargo upon the shipment of food, wool, coal, and metals to any land outside the Empire however much in amity with Australia, until such time as the needs of the Empire, and especially of the United Kingdom, had been fully met.

In all the combatant countries, and in many neutral lands also, the war called into existence patriotic and philanthropic funds. In Australia, by the end of October 1914, over £700,000 had been subscribed to them, by Christmas the subscriptions exceeded £1 million. At a public meeting held in the Melbourne Town Hall on the 11th of August 1914, exactly a week after the first day of the war, it was decided to form an Australian branch of the Red Cross Fund. An account of its work and development is given later; but, with regard to this fund as well as the other patriotic funds established in

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Australia, the Comforts' funds for the men in the trenches, the Y.M.C.A. funds, and so forth, two points should be borne in mind: in the first place, in all public efforts of the kind, as to a much greater degree in the political sphere, the relations of States and Commonwealth played some part; and in the second place, the scene of the efforts was a land which happily had never previously known at close quarters the exigencies of war, and whose people therefore had no Australian precedents to guide them in framing their organizations and carrying on their work.

As the result of the September election, Mr. Fisher became for the third time Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, and for the third time Treasurer. For the third time Messrs. Hughes, Pearce, and Tudor returned to the offices of Attorney-General, Minister of Defence, and Minister of Trade and Customs respectively. They knew their work—no small gain at a critical time, and they could depend, as far as the war was concerned, upon the loyal support and co-operation of their political opponents. Co-operation was further ensured in 1915 by the establishment of a Federal Parliamentary War Committee, to advise the Government on questions relating to the war, which was composed of representatives of both parties. The Governor-General's speech, when Parliament opened on the 8th of October 1914, contained a large number of items, prominent among them being a proposal for a free gift to the Belgians of £100,000, which sum was readily voted. The expenditure already incurred for war purposes was regularized, and various laws were passed to strengthen the hands of the Executive Government in carrying on the war and crippling the enemy.

Well skilled in taking advantages in party warfare, the Attorney-General was the last man in the world to leave any loophole to the foes of the nation and of the Empire; and he went to work with a whole heart, not merely to provide such safeguards as were obviously and immediately necessary, but, as the months went on, to root out every vestige of German influence in Australia. For war time disclosed the nature and the extent of that influence, and with the growing evidence of it grew Mr. Hughes's determination to eliminate the evil once for all. What Napoleon was to Blücher, the object of an almost fanatical personal hatred, that Germany came to be to this keen-sighted man. He had not, like Blücher, seen his country

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overrun, parcelled out, and humbled in the dust by a master of enemy legions, and was not likely to see it, but he realized more and more, and told out, not to Australia alone, how deadly to the democratic destinies of the world was the menace of the military power of Germany; and even more how poisonous and subtile were the methods which supplemented her armed forces. To free Australia at all costs and for all time from German 'penetration' became his fixed resolve.

Before October ended, a War Precautions Act had been passed 'to enable the Governor-General to make regulations and orders for the safety of the Commonwealth during the present state of war'. Supplemented and amended by two further acts in 1915, and a third in 1916, it gave immense powers to the Executive, and, for the manifold war purposes specified in its sections, substituted regulations issued on the advice of ministers for laws passed by Parliament. There was no opposition to the measure; the war demanded it in Australia as elsewhere; an advanced democracy, when the Commonwealth was in danger, placed in the hands of the ministers of the day autocratic authority which in peace time would have been incredible. Before the first of these acts was passed, an Enemy Trading bill became law, amended a few weeks later and further amended in 1916, which again empowered the Governor-General to issue regulations consistent with the terms of the Act. In November two acts gave the Government power to avoid or suspend patents to enemy subjects; and an enemy contracts Annulment Act was placed on the Statute Book in the following May. The provisions of these laws, and very especially the regulations, which were authorized by and issued under the War Precautions and the Enemy Trading Acts, dealt in most drastic and effectual manner with enemy firms and shareholders, destroying, as far as was humanly possible, all German hold upon the land, capital, minerals, and commercial enterprise of Australia. Australian companies, in which German shareholders predominated, or whose operations had been wholly or mainly on behalf or for the benefit of Germans, were driven from business. The shares in Australian undertakings held by enemy subjects or naturalized British subjects of enemy origin were transferred to the Public Trustee; and special authority was required before new companies could be formed or fresh capital issued. Similar

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precautions were taken with regard to the transfers of land. Before the war the base metals of Australia had to a very large extent passed into the hands of Germany. Lead, zinc, copper, molybdenite, scheelite, alike their production and their manufacture, were controlled by German combines or by associations in which Germans had the upper hand. All this was changed. New companies on a national basis, with the foreign element eliminated, took the place of the old, and the efforts of the Commonwealth Government were directed to keeping within Australia the work of smelting and refining the ores, in lieu of supplying foreign lands and peoples with the raw material for their metal industries. The export of metals and minerals was further safeguarded by establishing at Sydney and Melbourne an Australian Metal Exchange, the members of which were exclusively natural born British subjects. No metals or minerals might be exported from Australia until the contracts had been duly registered through this Exchange. The early months of the war saw the beginning of this 'Thorough' policy, worthy of Strafford himself; equally early attention was given to the interests of the fighting men of the Commonwealth and their dependents, to the coming deaths and wounds; and a War Pensions Act was passed in 1914, amended in 1915 and 1916.

As late as the 14th of April 1915 but few casualties had been reported, 99 deaths in the main Expeditionary Force in Egypt, 20 casualties from German New Guinea. None could foresee, while the war was young, how heavy would be the price paid in human life and limb; but timely provision could be made, and was made, to satisfy the most sacred and binding claim which war makes upon a nation. Before the war was three years old, on the 30th of June 1917, the War Pensions payable in Australia numbered 42,815 as against no more than 8,754 at the same date in 1916.

The financial year of the Commonwealth begins on the 1st of July. The estimates for the year 1914–15 had been necessarily delayed by the General Election and the change of Government which followed, and it was not until the 3rd of December 1914 that Mr. Fisher made his Budget statement. The Commonwealth had come to birth in the midst of the South African War, but the contingents sent by Australia to that war and such expenses arising out of it as were charged

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to Australian funds, were the concern of the different colonies, not of the new federation. Consequently the 1914 Budget was the first War Budget of the Australian nation; there were no precedents to give guidance; and the position was complicated in the region of finance, as in manifold other respects, by the ever-present question of the relations between States and Commonwealth. In the past Australia had borrowed largely, in the main for reproductive works; but the debts were debts of the separate colonies, not of the federation. On the 30th of June 1914 the public debt of the States amounted in the aggregate to some £318 millions; while the Commonwealth debt for stock actually issued was only a little more than £4 millions,[1] and nearly half of that sum represented expenditure on the Kalgoorlie–Port Augusta railway, which was being built to link up Western Australia with the sister States. As the Commonwealth had so far accumulated little debt, so it had imposed but little direct taxation, the only direct tax levied by and for the purposes of the Federal Government before the war being a Land Tax, first imposed in the year 1910–11. A financial review of Australia before the war and after illustrates very clearly that the inevitable result of the war was to strengthen the position of the Commonwealth and to weaken that of the States. What had called the Commonwealth into existence more than any other cause had been the obvious necessity for a common defence organization and a single defence policy. Defence was from the first the exclusive concern of the Federal Government. In war time the problems and the cost of defence dominate all other questions, and in war time, by common consent, it is necessary to uphold to the fullest extent the authority of the Central Government. In Australia, as the war went forward, that Government, in lieu of exercising a residuum of powers conceded by the contracting colonies, raising a supplementary annual revenue, incurring a small supplementary amount of indebtedness, became, in virtue of its special province of defence, the primary borrower and lender, piling up national debt, levying national taxation, and controlling national resources. By the necessities of the

[1] This is exclusive of certain debts taken over from South Australia in respect of the Northern Territory, and of debt representing the value of properties transferred from the States to the Commonwealth. Hence the different figure, £19 millions, given below on p. 25.

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case its powers were increased, because the necessities of the case demanded centralization in lieu of divided authority. The problem of the Australian Treasurer, as of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the United Kingdom or in any other country in war time, was a double one, to meet the actual expenditure on war purposes which was a matter for the Commonwealth alone, and to ensure that such funds were forthcoming as were needed to keep the civil life of the nation sound and vigorous at a critical time. This second phase of the problem was one in which the States were concerned, and further it was one with regard to which the conditions in a new and an old country widely differ. The citizens of a new country in time of peace are largely or mainly engaged in development, financed by borrowed money; they are not merely carrying on the present, they are constructing the future. In Australia new public works in process of construction could not be suspended without wholesale unemployment and distress, and they could not be carried on without a continuance of borrowing. Such was the outlook for the Australian Treasurer; and in all his measures, other than those directly concerned with outlay on the war, he was constrained to find a working compromise with the Governments of the States.

The special war expenditure for the year 1914–15 was estimated at £11,742,050, and the additional taxation for the year comprised a new direct tax in the form of Probate and Succession duties, an increase in the Land Tax with widening of its incidence, and some changes in Customs and Excise duties. The Imperial Government had agreed to lend to the Commonwealth for war expenses a sum of £18 millions in monthly instalments of £1½ millions, beginning on the 15th December 1914. An arrangement between the Commonwealth and five of the States—Queensland standing out—had been concluded on the 5th of November, whereby the Commonwealth agreed to lend to the States in Australian notes £18 millions for the purpose of carrying on their public works, while the States on their part consented not to borrow any money for a period of twelve months, except for the purpose of renewing loans which fell due, so as not to compete with the Commonwealth in the money market. The Associated Banks of Australia had been called in to strengthen the position, and had agreed to provide £10 millions in gold in exchange

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for Australian notes, the notes not to be presented and redeemed before the end of the war. The Commonwealth Bank, a Government creation, which opened its doors to the public in January 1913, was found to be of much service at this difficult time. Such was the first War Budget of Australia. Though, as the war went on, in Australia as elsewhere, expenditure rose by leaps and bounds, while means to meet the expenses contracted, still the beginning of an unprecedented crisis presented exceptional difficulties, which were met by agreement between the financial authorities within Australia, and by willing co-operation on the part of the Mother Country. Speaking on the 14th of April 1915, when Parliament had met again after the Christmas adjournment, Mr. Fisher stated that the Imperial Government had agreed to advance a further sum of £6½ millions, making a total amount of £24½ millions to be received by the Commonwealth from Imperial funds up to the 31st December 1915. Eventually the actual war expenditure for the year 1914–15 was found to have largely exceeded the estimate, amounting in all to about £15 millions.[1]

The subsequent stages of the Commonwealth War Finance may here be given in brief outline. A financial statement made by the Treasurer on the 12th of August 1915[2] estimated the total war expenditure for 1915–16 at £47½ millions, including nearly £2 millions for interest and sinking fund on War Loans and for military pensions, the estimate for purely military and naval expenditure being £45¾ millions. In the Treasurer's Budget speech of two years later, on the 8th of August 1917, the actual war expenditure of 1915–16 was given at a considerably lower figure than this estimate, a little short of £41¼ millions, of which rather less than £4 millions were found out of revenue and nearly £37½ millions were borrowed. The Imperial Government again came to the help of the Commonwealth, and agreed to find a further sum of £25 millions, to be advanced at the rate of £2 millions a month for the calendar year ending 31st December 1916; and the Commonwealth

[1] The figures were very variously given at different times The Budget speech of 8th August 1917 gave the War Expenditure for 1914–15 as £540,217 out of revenue and £14,471,118 out of loan, Total £15,011,335. *The Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*, No. 9 (1901–15), p. 998, gives the Special War Expenditure for 1914–15 as £14,931,531.

[2] The Budget itself was not presented till nearly the end of the financial year, 9th May 1916.

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Government began to issue public loans in Australia. The subscriptions to the first two Australian loans more than doubled the amount which had been invited, and some £35 millions were subscribed before the 30th of June 1916. Following upon the financial arrangement which had been made between the Commonwealth and the States for the first year of the war, an agreement was concluded on the 6th of November 1915, to which the Commonwealth on the one side, and on the other all the States, with one outstanding exception, New South Wales, were parties. The terms of the agreement were that the Commonwealth should be the sole borrower overseas during the war, and should in turn lend to the States nearly £9 millions in 1916, and in 1917 and each successive year until one year after the end of the war nearly £7½ millions per annum, the States being still left at liberty to borrow within Australia on certain conditions and for certain amounts, viz. £3,610,000 in 1916, and £4,332,000 in subsequent years. This agreement was somewhat modified in January 1917, the overseas borrowing for the States for 1917 being reduced to £5,400,000, but New South Wales still remained outside. The war taxation imposed within the year 1915–16 was embodied in an income tax, the first income tax levied by the Commonwealth, which was expected to produce, and did produce, some £4 millions. During this financial year it was found necessary to export gold to the amount of nearly £11 millions, whereas the output of the Australian Gold Mines in the calendar year, 1916, only amounted to £7 millions. But for two and a half years previously very little gold had been exported. From the 14th July 1915 onward no gold could be sent out of the Commonwealth without the Treasurer's consent; and, in spite of gradually diminishing production, Australia held ample supplies of specie and bullion during the war.

On the 27th of September 1916 the then Treasurer of the Commonwealth, Mr. Higgs, who had succeeded Mr. Fisher in that office, made a financial statement for the year 1916–17. He estimated that the war expenditure of the year, to be defrayed in part from revenue, mainly from loans, would amount to £85¼ millions, and that on the last day of the financial year, the 30th June 1917, the war debt of the Commonwealth would aggregate nearly £142 millions. It was a year when Governments and Treasurers changed rather rapidly, and

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estimates were modified and forecasts revised. When the year was over, the then Treasurer, on the 8th of August 1917, returned the actual war expenditure of 1916–17 at a much lower figure than had been originally estimated, nearly £8½ millions found out of revenue, and £53 millions borrowed, in round numbers a total of £61½ millions. The proceeds of the War Loans of the Commonwealth on the 30th of June 1917 he gave as amounting to £128 millions, of which rather over £80 millions had been raised in Australia and £47¾ millions lent by the Imperial Government. Shortly before the year 1916–17 opened, on the 30th of May 1916, a Loan Bill authorizing the borrowing of £50 millions had become law, and under the provisions of this Act a third and fourth War Loans were placed on the Australian market, realizing by the end of the financial year some £45 millions. The war taxation of the year, as outlined on the 27th September 1916, was intended to include an Entertainments tax, a war-time Profits Tax, a 25 per cent. increase in the Income Tax, and a levy on wealth for the purposes of the repatriation fund, amounting to 1½ per cent., payable in three yearly instalments on all estates, real or personal, of £500 and upwards. The Treasurer, Mr. Higgs, who laid these proposals before the House of Representatives, did not hold office long enough to carry them into effect, and in the end an Entertainments Tax and the 25 per cent. increase on the Income Tax represented the new war taxes for 1916–17.

When the financial year 1917–18 opened, a Coalition Ministry was in office, and Sir John Forrest was Treasurer of the Commonwealth. In his Budget speech on the 8th of August 1917 he reviewed at length the war finance up to date; he estimated the annual cost of the war to Australia at over £80 millions, and to meet the requirements of the then current year, including expenditure incurred but not brought to account prior to the 1st of July 1917, he budgeted for a much larger amount than the above sum, proposing to find for war purposes over £13 millions out of revenue, and £84 millions from loan, making a total war expenditure in this particular year of over £97 millions. The new money to be borrowed, and borrowed if possible in Australia, he estimated at £64 millions. A Loan Act was passed, giving borrowing power up to £80 millions, while the new war taxes included a special Income Tax on single men and widowers without dependants,

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who had not enlisted for active service, and the long-proposed War-time Profits Act, which was given retrospective effect. It was an Act, the principle of which, as the Treasurer pointed out, had been adopted in the United Kingdom as far back as 1915, in Canada in 1916, and in New Zealand in the form of a special addition to the Income Tax.

Mr. Watt, who succeeded Lord Forrest as Treasurer in March 1918, when the House, on the 17th May following, was going into Committee on a new War Loan Bill, gave a lucid summary of Commonwealth borrowing up to date during the war. There had been so far four War Loan Acts in 1915–17, which had given authority to raise £20, 18, 50, and 80 millions respectively, £168 millions in all. There had been six War Loans in the Commonwealth, which had produced:

(i)	August 1915 . . .	£13,389,440
(ii)	February 1916 . . .	£21,655,680
(iii)	August 1916 . . .	£23,587,650
(iv)	February 1917 . . .	£21,584,020
(v)	November 1917 . . .	£21,213,870
(vi)	April 1918 . . .	£43,510,740

In addition, War Savings Certificates had been issued to the amount of £4,383,748, making a total borrowing in Australia for war purposes of £149,325,148. £47½ millions had also been borrowed from the British Government, making a total borrowing, up to the beginning of May 1918, of £196,825,148. The new War Loan Bill of 1918, which was duly passed into law, authorized further borrowing up to £80 millions.

The above figures were slightly modified when Mr. Watt made his Budget speech for 1918–19 on the following 25th of September. He then gave the total amount of money borrowed in the Commonwealth for war purposes up to the previous 30th of June as a little under £149 millions, the amount realized by the sixth War Loan having been slightly overstated in the earlier speech. The end of the financial year 1917–18 found the Commonwealth with a total public debt of £284 millions, of which £235 millions had been borrowed for war purposes. The actual payments made upon war account up to that date had amounted to £184½ millions, of which nearly £160 millions had been paid out of borrowed money, and rather less than £25 millions out of current revenue. At the same time there were £36½ millions of borrowed money in hand or

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not yet paid into the Treasury, and on the other hand a sum of over £38 millions was owing to the British Government for advances on account of the maintenance of Australian troops at the Front. The Treasurer was at pains to acknowledge the financial help which had been forthcoming from the Mother Country, and he emphasized the extent to which Australian borrowing had been complicated by independent action of States and Commonwealth. It has been seen that under the existing arrangement the Commonwealth borrowed overseas for five out of the six States; but in the Australian money market all the States competed with the Commonwealth, and New South Wales competed in England also. It was now suggested that the whole of the borrowing should be taken over from the States by the Commonwealth Government for the next three years, when finance would be most critical and co-ordination most necessary.

The current account for 1917–18 showed a satisfactory balance at the end of the year. In spite of a decrease under customs and excise, the revenue had exceeded the estimate, while the expenditure had been less than had been estimated. The result was a balance on the right side of nearly 4 millions, to help in financing the current year 1918–19. Notwithstanding, on the basis of existing taxation, Mr Watt contemplated a deficit of over £6 millions, and set himself manfully to face and provide against it by fresh taxation. It was a formidable outlook; the estimated expenditure for 1918–19 was expected to exceed the estimated expenditure for the previous year by no less than £8 millions, entirely due to war expenditure, viz. increase in interest on war debt and increase in cost of war pensions. The war expenditure for the year was estimated at £100 millions, and no less than £21 millions of this great sum were to be found out of revenue. The proposed new taxes included an increase in customs and excise duties, entirely on alcohol (especially beer) and tobacco; a 30 per cent. increase in the Income Tax and 20 per cent. in the Land Tax, a postage War Tax, and an expansion of the Entertainments Tax. Admission tickets of 6*d.* and under had hitherto been exempted from the Entertainments Tax, but the exemption—save for a slight reservation in favour of school-children—was now abolished. On the other hand, some concessions were made in regard to the heavy War-time Profits Tax, amounting to 75 per

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cent. of the profits, and severely handicapping the new enterprises which had come into bring during the war, while the special tax on bachelors, which as a matter of fact had not been put into force and collected, was in the main repealed. With the help of the new taxes, accompanied by transferring to revenue certain sums which had accumulated in London against purchases which had not been completed and were not likely to be completed for a long time to come, the Treasurer just balanced his account.

The financial laws required to carry out this last War Budget were duly passed, though in the meantime the Armistice came and brought with it an assured prospect of diminishing expenditure. Very heavily taxed were Australians for the common cause, yet at the conclusion of his Budget speech Mr. Watt could congratulate Australia upon a sound condition of trade and finance, upon stability and commercial prosperity. He attributed it largely to the purchase by the Mother Country of the primary products of the Commonwealth, its foodstuffs, wool, and metals, and he paid a noble tribute to 'the potent influence of Britain's wisdom and generosity in every phase of our national well-being'. While he was speaking, the people of Australia were being invited to subscribe to a seventh War Loan, £40 millions being asked for. This new loan had not the attraction offered by previous issues of being free from taxation. It was free from State Income Tax but not from the Commonwealth Tax. The Treasurer intimated that a Bill would be introduced giving the Government power to compel subscriptions to the loan in the event of the required sum not being reached by voluntary subscriptions. But no compulsion was found necessary. The result of a very well-organized loan campaign, conducted by loan committees throughout the length and breadth of Australia, and strengthened, no doubt, by the knowledge that compulsory powers were in reserve, was an unqualified success. On the 4th of November the House was informed that, allowing for final revision of figures, the sum of £43,850,160 had been realized,[1] nearly £4 millions more than had been asked for, the largest amount ever borrowed in Australia and lent by the largest number of contributors. One in twenty of the population had subscribed, and every State had contributed more than its due proportion of the

[1] The revised total slightly exceeded £44 millions.

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£40 millions for which the Government had applied. It was a great success, in every sense a Victory Loan. It proved that, after four years and more of war and six previous appeals, the Australians still had money to lend and would lend it for the Commonwealth and the Empire. It brought the total amount borrowed in Australia by the Central Government during the war and for the war up to £192½ millions.

The financial results of this last of the war years, 1918–19, were given by the Acting Treasurer, Mr. Poynton, in his Budget speech for the following year on the 8th of October 1919. Mr. Watt's Budget had fully achieved its purpose, and the revenue had exceeded the estimate by £3¼ millions. The revenue had reached a total of £44¾ millions as against £21¾ in 1913–14, the last pre-war year.

Though the war was ended, expenditure arising out of the war was not, and 1919 saw yet another loan, but taking the 30th of June 1919 as the end of the war era, being the end of the last financial year in which there was fighting, the public debt of the Commonwealth stood at that date at £325¾ millions as against a little over £19 millions on the 30th of June 1914. The total war expenditure of the Commonwealth had amounted to £311½ millions, about 15 per cent. of which had been found from revenue and 85 per cent. from borrowed money. Of the contribution from revenue more than three-quarters was derived from direct taxation, principally the Income Tax. Of the borrowed money more than £193 millions, including War Savings Certificates, had been borrowed in Australia, and the British Government had lent to the Commonwealth rather over £49 millions, in addition to an outstanding advance of £37 millions for the cost of maintenance of the Australian troops overseas. The public debt of the Commonwealth on the 30th of June 1919 was £63 7*s.* 6*d.* per head of the population as against £3 17*s.* 11*d.* per head on the 30th of June 1914. The public debt of Commonwealth and States combined in 1919 amounted to nearly £144 per head, yet even this huge sum was short of the amount of indebtedness per head in the United Kingdom, and the war debt alone was, per head of population, much less than half that of the United Kingdom.

The Australian taxpayer, the Australian landowner in particular, had need to be a long-suffering man, taxed as he was alike by State and by Commonwealth in ever-growing measure.

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The present review of Australia and the Australians in war time is necessarily in the main confined to the Commonwealth, but a few additional words on the relations of States and Commonwealth are needed before following the main course of Australian history during these critical years. The powers which were reserved to the States under the Constitution Act remained unabated by the war, unabated, but to some extent in abeyance, through friendly compromise and voluntary concession; for, taken as a whole, the States Governments and Legislatures showed no little patriotism in being slow to insist upon their constitutional rights and in co-operating with the Federal Ministers and Parliament. Still, from time to time difficulties arose from division of authority, want of uniform procedure, rival governments and personalities; and the weak points of a Federal system, in times when concentrated power and single policy are essential, were well illustrated. It was a serious drawback to the financial agreements between States and Commonwealth of November 1915 and January 1917 that New South Wales, the Mother State, predominant in wealth and population, refused to make common cause with the rest. Led by a Labour Minister, Mr. Holman, as masterful in his State as was Mr. Hughes in Federal politics, New South Wales was by no means disposed to be overshadowed by the Commonwealth. We have seen that in August 1914, at the beginning of the war, State premiers and representatives of the Commonwealth took counsel together, and it was agreed that uniform laws should be passed in all the States to control the price of food supplies. When the State Legislatures were called into action, no such uniformity was forthcoming, and the different States went their own ways. New South Wales was the first to fix the price of wheat: the New South Wales Government then proceeded, by a Wheat Acquisition Act passed in December 1914, to take power for acquiring the whole wheat crop of the State, and, having taken these powers, to prohibit the export to Victoria. The outcome of this action was that the law was declared to be *ultra vires* as conflicting with Inter-State free trade. At the end of 1915 the Commonwealth came to an agreement with the four wheat-growing States, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia, to control the whole Australian wheat supply, a Wheat Board being shortly afterwards formed for

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the purpose; and in October and December 1916 contracts were concluded with the Home Government and the Governments of France and Italy for the export of 3½ million tons of Australian wheat. Within Australia the prices of flour and bread were controlled by the Federal Government through a Prices Adjustment Board, created in March 1916, and the powers of this Board were subsequently extended to other necessary commodities.

When the Labour party was in power in the Commonwealth the referendum was constantly called into play with a view to amending the Constitution by giving larger powers to the Federal Government. In 1911, and again in 1913, at the instance of the Labour Government, referenda were taken on the question of transferring to the Commonwealth certain rights still left to the States in regard to Trade and Commerce, Trusts and Monopolies, and industrial, especially railway, disputes. The proposals were rejected in both years, but in June 1915 they were again revived in a modified form, the arguments in their favour being strengthened by the conditions of war time. A referendum was to have been held towards the end of the year; but at the beginning of November the then Prime Minister, Mr. Hughes, announced that it had been withdrawn, a compromise having been effected whereby the States would concede to the Commonwealth the desired powers, with some limitations, for the period of the war and one year afterwards. So the State Governments agreed, but the State Legislatures thought otherwise. When the compromise was submitted to them it was rejected by five out of the six Legislatures, and the whole plan broke down. The States, on occasion, gave a lead to the Commonwealth during the war. This was especially the case with New South Wales: a Coalition Ministry in New South Wales, and a General Election in that State, in which the newly formed National party gained a decisive victory over dissentient Labour, was the prelude to a similar evolution in the Commonwealth. The Queensland Labour Ministry, again, which came into office in 1915, leavened with a strong Irish Roman Catholic element, pronounced against conscription before a referendum was taken in the Commonwealth and conscription rejected. All the time, however, the general tendency in Australia was in favour of extending the 'Sphere of Influence' of the Central Government at the expense alike

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of private and of State activities. Want of adequate railway communication, and diversity of railway gauges, have been in the past practical obstacles to a single Australia, practical arguments for retention by the States of their existing powers. Before the war began, progress had been made in bridging the desert gap between Western Australia and the Central and Eastern States, and during the war borrowing for the purpose was continued, and the building of the railway was pushed forward, the line being obviously more than ever needed on strategic grounds. On the 17th October 1917 the rails were linked up from East and West: the first through train ran on the 22nd October, and on the 20th of November the line was formally opened for traffic, the cost of construction for the 1,053 miles from Kalgoorlie to Port Augusta having exceeded £7 millions as against an original estimate of £4 millions. The gauge is the standard British gauge, the gauge on which the New South Wales railways have been built: a broader gauge held the field in Victoria and South Australia, a narrower in Queensland and Western Australia. Unification of the gauges was an item in the Labour party's programme, and had figured in the Governor-General's speech of 8th October 1914 when the first war-time Parliament met.

A Labour Government, Mr. Fisher's second Ministry, and very especially the Treasurer of that Ministry, Mr. Fisher himself, had brought to birth the Commonwealth Bank of Australia, to which reference has already been made. It was created by an Act passed in December 1911; it began life in the middle of July 1912; and it was opened for public business in January 1913, notable as the first Government Bank, in the usual trading sense, in the British Empire. The Act gave authority to the Bank to carry on ordinary banking business, but not to issue notes, and power to raise capital not exceeding £1 million, by issuing debentures under the guarantee of the Commonwealth Government. A further Act, passed in December 1914, after the war had begun, increased this amount to £10 millions; but so successful were the operations of the Bank, and so skilful was its management (the Governor of the Bank being Sir Denison Miller, formerly Secretary of the Bank of New South Wales) that no debentures were issued; and, starting with no capital at all, the Bank accumulated very large profits. It began with six offices in the six States of the

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Commonwealth, and one in London. In five years' time the offices numbered 36, in addition to over 2,600 agencies at the Australian Post Offices. The Act of 1914 provided for Savings Bank business, and the intention was that the Bank should take over the work and the profits of the States Savings Banks. In one case, that of Tasmania, the transfer was actually carried out as from the 1st of January 1913. The exigencies of war finance gave full scope for usefulness to this financial creation of the Central Government, and during the war, and because of the war, it grew rapidly in status and importance, a striking instance of successful Government enterprise in the sphere of commerce.

Another venture of the Commonwealth Government was the ownership of a line of steamers. Mention of it, as being in contemplation, was made in the Governor-General's speech in October 1914: the project gathered strength and backing as the war went on and facilities for transport were increasingly restricted: and in June 1916 Mr. Hughes, then in London, bought for rather more than £2 millions, fifteen cargo steamers, to constitute or to be the nucleus of 'The Commonwealth Government Line'. The purchase was followed by the creation of a Commonwealth Shipping Board in February 1917.

During the first eight months of the war Australia saw, on the whole, the brighter side of warfare. The evil had, so far, not come nigh, except to a very few of her citizens. The strain was there, and the anxiety, but not as yet the loss to any appreciable extent. The expeditionary force in the Pacific did its work promptly and well, with but a small list of casualties. The main contingent was halted in Egypt, and completed its war training; reinforcements were steadily forwarded; more troops were gathered in the training camps in Australia; but it was, as yet, the prelude only. The Commonwealth Fleet scored a marked success, and rendered substantial service to the Empire, when on the 9th of November 1914 the Australian cruiser *Sydney* accounted for the enterprising German raider, the *Emden*, off the Cocos group in the Indian Ocean. The Fleet was constantly being strengthened: in 1914–15 three destroyers were built in Australia, and on the 30th of September 1915 the cruiser *Brisbane* was launched, the first modern cruiser entirely built overseas in the British Empire. The

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growth of the Australian Navy demanded a separate Naval Department, and this was created in July 1915, a Minister for the Navy for some years finding a place in Commonwealth Cabinets. It was towards the close of April 1915, after the Australian troops had been moved on from Egypt to the Dardanelles, there to serve under Sir Ian Hamilton, who, as has been told in the first volume, had visited Australia and inspected the defence forces on the eve of the war, that the full meaning of war was brought home to Australian minds. The memorable landing at Gallipoli on Sunday, the 25th of April 1915, the long roll of honour which then began, the toll taken of Australian lives, including the life of General Bridges, by common consent first among Australian officers, all placed the war in a new light: the realities of the crisis were forced into the open; the immensity and the seriousness of the drama were disclosed. It will ever stand to the credit of Australian temper, and always be evidence of the patriotic restraint of an understanding British people, that, when it was decided to evacuate the Gallipoli Peninsula, and after the evacuation had been finally carried out at the end of December 1915 and in the first days of the following January, criticism in Australia was silent; and the fact that the first great military venture of Australian fighting men on European soil, brilliantly initiated, stubbornly upheld, costly in sacrifice, had, through no Australian fault or miscalculation, ended in failure, was in no way made occasion for murmuring against the leadership of the Mother Country.

Before the year 1914 ended the drought had broken and the rain had come. The drought left its mark behind in loss of stock, but the harvest prospects for 1915 were good, and the anticipation was realized by a record harvest. Exports of wheat and flour fell short of those of the previous year, but, as the war went on, the large purchases of Australian wheat and wool by Great Britain and the Allies ensured, at any rate, temporary commercial prosperity to Australia. The autumn of 1915 saw a political change of the first importance. On the 26th of October Mr. Fisher resigned the post of Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, and on the 23rd of December he left for England, to take up the position of High Commissioner for Australia in succession to Sir George Reid, whose time expired at the end of the year. As the first High Commissioner of

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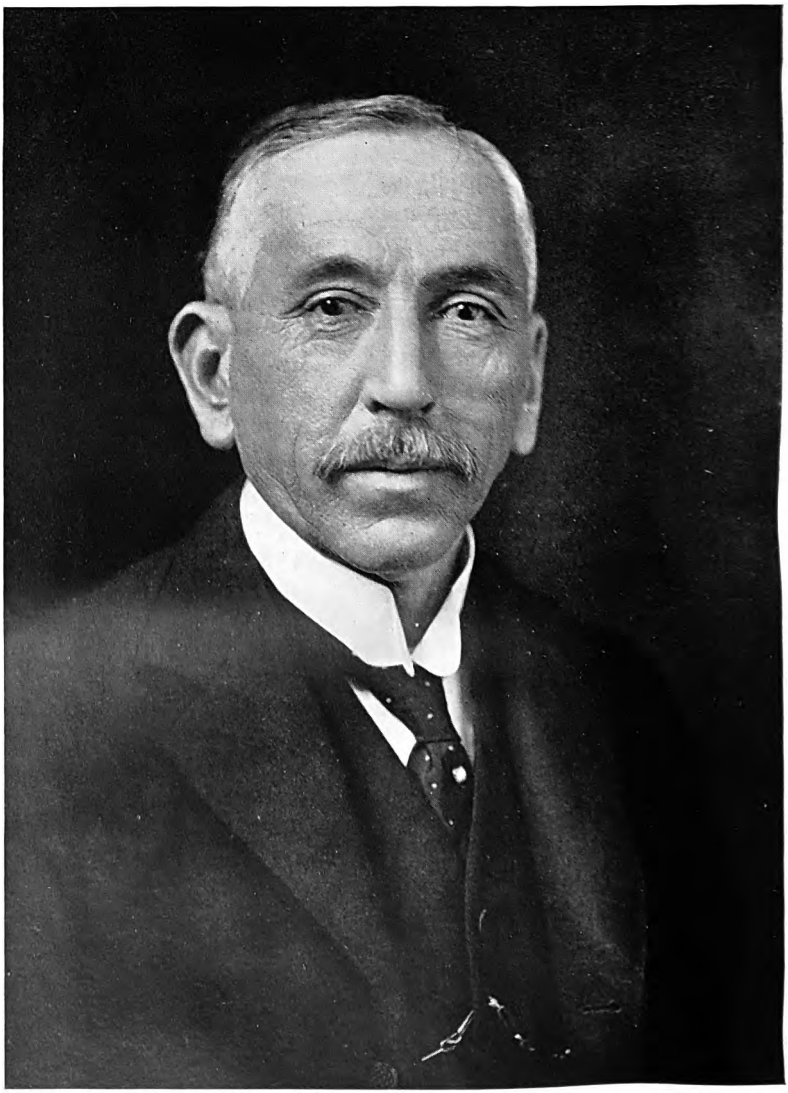

W. M. HUGHES

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the Commonwealth, Sir George Reid had been conspicuously successful, shrewd in counsel, easy of access, and unsurpassed in his own line as a ready and most humorous speaker. Mr. Fisher was a loss to Australian politics. As a Labour Leader, he had leavened the advanced views of his party with a wholesome admixture of business capacity and sober common sense, while his transparent honesty, high purpose, and unselfishness also did much to win confidence for his party. His successor in the office of Prime Minister was a foregone conclusion. Mr. Hughes, who had been his right-hand man, reigned in his stead, combining with the Premiership his former office of Attorney-General, and delegating to Mr. Higgs the Treasurership which Mr. Fisher had held. Hughes was now 51 years of age. Like Cook and Fisher, he had come out from the Old Country and had been thirty years in Australia when the war began. He had sat in the Commonwealth Parliament from the beginning, representing the working class constituency of West Sydney; he had been a member of all the Labour Ministries, and had twice acted as Prime Minister. He had come to the front as an organizer of Workers' Unions, specially concerned with the interests of the Waterside and Transport labourers, and had stood out as at once the ablest and the most aggressive champion of the Labour cause, to which he brought legal training and aptitude. Since the war began he had undoubtedly strengthened his position in the eyes of the public at large by giving evidence of being more than a hard-fighting partisan. Very especially among his colleagues, he had taken measure of the crisis, and had shown insight, promptitude, and indomitable energy. He was a Welshman with the characteristics of the race; and his public career bore a family resemblance to that of another great Welshman who later in the war presided over the fortunes of the United Kingdom. Politicians who become statesmen, when they rise to the higher plane and postpone party ties and interests to the national welfare, all have the same hard road to travel. They exchange the confidence of those among their old following, who are still dominated by party or by class, for bitter opposition, while the adherence of their former opponents is, for good or bad reason, tempered with suspicion. It is only when the history of the times comes to be written in after years that they are justly appraised.

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Following on steps taken by the Home Government, under pressure of the war, to make more use than had so far been made of science and scientific men in the development of national industries, Mr. Hughes in the early days of his office, in December 1915, announced that the Government had in contemplation the establishment of a Commonwealth Institute of Science and Industry; and in the following month, in January 1916, he called a representative conference to consider the question. The outcome was a recommendation that such an Institute should be established by Act of Parliament, and that in connexion with it, and in advance of its creation, an Advisory Council should immediately be appointed, to initiate scientific researches bearing on the industries of Australia and to collect and disseminate scientific information on industrial matters. The Council was forthwith constituted, including among its members, in addition to scientific experts, the Ministers of Agriculture in the separate States: the Commonwealth gave a grant for the work of £5,000, and State Committees supplemented the Central body. It was an instance of hearty co-operation for an object of national importance, and in dealing with it the Prime Minister showed to advantage his capacity for prompt action, as well as for co-ordinating diverse interests.

He had been invited to personal conference with the Home Government, and left for England before January ended. He passed through Canada on his way, and at Ottawa was sworn a member of the Canadian Privy Council and attended a meeting of the Dominion Cabinet. He landed in England on the 7th of March, and in two days' time was present at a Cabinet Meeting in London and was made a Privy Councillor. The war was thus speeding forward Imperial co-operation in its most practical form. Wherever he went he carried the fiery cross, attracting public attention in a singular degree, as the spokesman of advanced democracy out to win the war, intent on one main object, the overthrow of German military power and eradication of German influence outside Germany. His speeches lent themselves to criticism, not least in Australia, but they were an undoubted asset to the Empire, for the special reason that, beyond all other statesmen and speakers, he had grasped and repeatedly emphasized the economic side of the struggle, the German menace to British trade and industry by German

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methods, no less potent and no less formidable than German arms. It was in response to a public demand that he was selected as one of the three British representatives at the Economic Conference of the Allies, which was held in Paris in June 1916. Shortly afterwards, on the 26th of June, he started on his return voyage, via South Africa, and towards the end of July landed again in Australia, bringing with him a greatly enhanced reputation and first-hand knowledge of the most urgent demands of the war.

While he was in England, in May 1916, conscription passed into law in the United Kingdom. It came in the end, with common consent, by the logic of facts, perhaps the most successful issue of a 'Wait and See' policy, not always happy in its management of the war. He learnt how vital to the Allied cause was the question of Man Power and the importance to the Home Government of being able to rely upon definite numbers of troops from the self-governing Dominions and assured reinforcements. Money and Man Power in all the countries concerned were the sinews of war. But in the self-governing Dominions, thinly populated in proportion to their vast territories, the question of fighting man power held the field more exclusively than in Europe. There was no competing question on any appreciable scale, as there was in England. British statesmen were faced with problems of adequate food supplies for home consumption, or of the rate of shipbuilding. Australia was secure enough from any danger of starvation, and no enemy Fleet was hard by in strength to menace her shores. On the other hand the number of able-bodied men who could be spared to cross the seas was limited, and Australian industries could not be paralysed. As the war went on the question grew, until it dictated the whole course of Australian politics. Speaking in the Federal Parliament on the 14th of April 1915, Mr. Fisher gave the number of Australian soldiers dispatched on active service or training in camps, since the beginning of the war, as 70,000; and he added the interesting fact that approximately 80 per cent. of them were Australian born. On the 31st of May the number stood at 82,000. When he made a financial statement on the following 12th of August he told the House of Representatives that, by the 6th of that month, over 76,000 had been dispatched abroad, and 40,000 were in training, making a total of more than 116,000 men.

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At this date a War Census Act had lately been passed which, in Mr. Hughes's words on the second reading of the Bill on the 11th of July, provided for the registration of Australian resources both in men and material, but did not contemplate conscription; and in September 1915 Mr. Fisher declared himself wholly against conscription. On the 22nd of October came a Royal Message inviting further voluntary effort, and on the 26th of November, Mr. Hughes being now Prime Minister, the Commonwealth Government offered an additional force of 50,000 men. New efforts were forthwith made to stimulate voluntary recruiting, State War Councils being constituted to co-operate with the Federal authorities in the matter, and by the following 6th of May 1916, according to a statement made by the Minister of Defence three days later, the total number embarked or in training amounted to 251,000, of whom no less than 189,000 had been sent across the seas. This number, however, was not so large as had been contemplated, and in the next three months of June, July, and August, the enlistments were disappointing, averaging less than 6,000 a month.

Parliament had adjourned on the 23rd of May 1916, and met again on the 30th of August, the Prime Minister having come back in the meantime. Prompt and impetuous, at once, on the 30th of August and the 1st of September, he faced the facts and declared his policy. The Imperial Government, he stated, had asked for a specific number of troops: the voluntary system of recruitment could not be relied on, as the figures of the last three months showed, to keep up a steady stream of reinforcements; he therefore proposed that a referendum should be taken on the subject of compulsory service outside Australia. Compulsion would be applied only so far as voluntary recruitment should have proved inadequate; and he made an earnest appeal for volunteers, asking for 32,500 in the month of September. If this number was not forthcoming, the Government, under the provisions of the existing Defence Act, would call up for training a sufficient number of single men without dependents to supply the deficiency, and, if the referendum sanctioned conscription, they would be available for overseas service.

He expressed his belief that an appeal to the people by referendum would result in an overwhelming majority for

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conscription, and he had good reason for thinking so. Australian democracy had given no evidence of Pacifist tendencies : the principle of compulsory training for home defence had been readily adopted in peace time, far in advance of public opinion in the Mother Country ; and now, under stress of war, the citizens of the Mother Country, with the exception of a negligible minority, had withdrawn their objections to conscription and carried it into effect. For some time past a Universal Service League had been in existence in Australia, and conscription had found advocates in the most diverse quarters ranging from University Professors to the *Sydney Bulletin*. But Labour is a difficult team to drive, nowhere more difficult than in Australia. Compulsion is of the essence of Labour democracy, and is ruthlessly employed in its own organizations ; but knowledge of its efficacy makes Labour slow to place such a weapon in the hands of the Government. Moreover, there were other and more sinister influences constantly at work. It will never be known with any certainty to what extent the plentiful Labour troubles in British countries during the war were fomented by enemy agencies, and definite evidence of expenditure of German money in Australia to stir up strife was not forthcoming. But the industrial upheavals in Australia in 1917 were described in the Press as German inspired strikes ; and whether inspired by Germany or not, the league of miscreants, known as the Industrial Workers of the World, brought their poison into Australia from the Western States of America. They were proclaimed in an Unlawful Associations Act of the Commonwealth, passed in December 1916, and some of their members were tried and sentenced at Sydney under that Act in the following year.

Against extremists of this type Hughes used strong language in a speech delivered at Sydney on the 17th of January 1916, shortly before he left for England. This was the beginning of trouble. The same element that he then denounced made what capital could be made of his speeches on the other side of the water, playing Australian nationalism against the Imperial partnership which he had emphasized, with the result that there was already a mischievous undercurrent of malcontent feeling, when he came back and proposed conscription. On the 13th September he brought in a Bill for taking the

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referendum, the question to be submitted to the people being in the following terms :

'Are you in favour of the Government having, in this grave emergency, the same compulsory power over citizens in regard to requiring their military service for the term of this war outside the Commonwealth as it now has in regard to military service within the Commonwealth.'

The Bill was fought hard in Parliament by one section of the Labour party, Hughes's own party, but was carried in both Houses by large majorities, and became law on the 28th of the month. The required number of volunteers was not obtained in September, men were called up for training under the Defence Act, and the date of polling was fixed for the 28th of October. The Labour party was now split in twain. One of the foremost members of the Ministry, Mr. Tudor, like Hughes, of Welsh descent, but Australian born, resigned and became leader of the dissentients. On the eve of the poll his example was followed by three other Ministers. Outside the Federal Parliament, the State Government of Queensland, a Labour Government, as has been already told, pronounced against conscription, and the majority of the Labour organizations throughout Australia were up in arms, driving out leading members of their bodies who favoured conscription. It is true that a Labour Conference in South Australia supported Hughes, and Western Australia gave him support ; but in New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland the opposition was strong. Sydney was always an industrial storm centre, and labour bitterness culminated in Sydney. Here was the home of Hughes's public life ; here he had organized and led the Unions : the Sydney workmen had been his personal following : they now expelled him from their political Labour League and attacked him with unmeasured bitterness, to which no man was better able to reply in kind.

The Referendum was taken, the voting being extended not only to the soldiers at the front, but also, for the first time, to the Northern Territory, Papua, and Norfolk Island. Contrary to expectation, the Noes were in a majority, a small majority of 61,000. Victoria, Tasmania, and Western Australia went in favour of conscription, Western Australia by a majority of two to one. South Australia, Queensland, and New South Wales went against it. New South Wales decided the issue,

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negativing conscription by 116,000 votes. Mr. Hughes's foes were they of his own household. The soldiers' vote went in favour of conscription, but not by a large majority, 72,000 voting for it, 58,000 against. The result was a great disappointment to Australian citizens who did not hold strong Labour views; and outside Australia it was felt that, if conscription was rejected in an All-British Dominion, where compulsory military training was already the law of the land, it would have no chance in the other Dominions. Following on the result, and in consequence of the secession among his followers, on the 14th of November Hughes resigned, returning to office with a reconstituted Ministry, still a Labour Ministry, but kept in power by the support of the Opposition. Though his choice was limited, it was a Ministry of competent men, not now nominated by the Labour caucus, but chosen by the Prime Minister himself. A vote of want of confidence was moved in the House of Representatives by his old colleague, Mr. Tudor, now his principal opponent, but it was easily defeated. Outside Parliament, the rejection of conscription left no alternative but to make every possible further effort to promote voluntary recruiting, and a new organization was formed for the purpose, over which Mr. Donald MacKinnon of Melbourne presided as Honorary Director.

Thus the year 1916 went out in the Commonwealth, with a Labour Government still in office, but weakened alike in following and in prestige, faced by militant Labour which, from its own point of view, had achieved a notable success. The section which Hughes led took the title of the National Labour party. Against them Tudor still held a majority in the Senate, while outside Parliament he had the immense advantage over Hughes of being backed by the all-powerful Labour machine. Meanwhile, there had been a somewhat similar schism in the State of New South Wales. Here the political and industrial sides of the Labour party were falling asunder, the Industrialists constituting the extreme wing, with whom material class interests were paramount. Unlike the Queensland Labour Government, the State Government of New South Wales, also a Labour Government, had not opposed conscription, which had found a strong advocate in the Premier, Mr. Holman. At the end of October, when the result of the Federal Referendum was known, he and the late

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Sir Charles Wade, the leader of the Opposition, combined to form a National party, which, at a State General Election held in March 1917, secured a substantial majority, though at the price of abjuring conscription for the time being.

The three years life of the Commonwealth Parliament was due to expire in October 1917. There had already been one General Election in war time, but the disadvantages of adding political strife to the strife of arms are patent to all except besotted partisans, and there was an additional reason for postponing the Election, if possible, and, if possible, calling a party truce. Before 1916 ended, an intimation had been received that it had been decided to hold an Imperial War Conference in London in 1917. The normal Imperial Conference had been due in 1915, and Mr. Fisher, then Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, had expressed himself in favour of holding it, but it had been postponed on account of the war. Now that a Conference was to be held, it was all important that the Commonwealth should be adequately represented at it. Having this consideration in mind, coupled with the fact that the National Labour party, without a majority of its own in either House, could not, in its leader's own words, effectively govern, Hughes, in January 1917, made overtures for a coalition of all three parties. Dissentient Labour remained irreconcilable, but after prolonged pourparlers the National Labour party and the Liberals joined hands, and Hughes resigned office on the 17th of February, coming back to office immediately at the head of a Coalition Ministry, a War Government, as he defined it in the House of Representatives on the 22nd of February, standing ' for the development of Australian national spirit on the foundation of Imperial ideals '. It was a strong Government. Hughes still combined the office of Prime Minister with that of Attorney-General : Pearce still remained in charge of defence : Cook, the Liberal Leader, who through this war time had never let party outrun patriotism, became Minister of the Navy : Forrest took the Treasurership, for the fourth time. A very able member of the Ministry, who had not previously held office in the Commonwealth, was Mr. Watt, formerly Premier of the State of Victoria. On the other hand, there was a conspicuous omission, that of Sir William Irvine, second to none for strength of character among the public men of Australia.

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Thus a more or less national government was formed; but Australian representation at the Imperial Conference was out of the question, if a General Election was immediately pending. Hughes accordingly proposed that the life of the existing Parliament should be prolonged during the war and for six months afterwards by means of an agreed act to be passed in the Imperial Parliament, which would effect the necessary change in the Constitution. His proposal was defeated in the Senate, and the Government resolved upon an immediate dissolution. This policy was announced on the 6th of March. Parliament rose on the 16th, and the election was held on the 5th of May, the electoral campaign taking place while the War Conference was at work in London. A new Electoral Act, the Commonwealth Electoral (War Time) Act had just been passed, limited to the duration of the war and six months afterwards, and it came into operation on the 23rd of March. With certain specified exceptions, it disqualified every naturalized British subject born in an enemy country, and it provided that Australian soldiers on active service overseas should be allowed to cast their votes simply for Ministerial or Opposition candidates, in the inevitable absence of knowledge of the particular candidates for the different constituencies. The Government swept the country at the polls—everywhere except in New South Wales, where the Industrial extremists gained some seats. Hughes himself was returned for Bendigo in Victoria, not having risked almost certain defeat in his old constituency of West Sydney. The majority, which he had behind him in Parliament after the Election, was between two and three to one in the House of Representatives, and two to one in the Senate, the majority in the Senate being especially noteworthy, inasmuch as under the Constitution Act only half of the seats were vacated and placed at the option of the Electors. But, as in the case of the New South Wales elections, this Government victory had only been won by a compromise on the conscription issue: the Government candidates, with the outstanding exception of Sir William Irvine, had pledged themselves, in effect, not to enforce conscription without a previous further appeal to the Electorate.

Recalcitrant labour, having defeated conscription at the end of October 1916, immediately followed up its success with a Coal Strike, which began at Newcastle in New South Wales

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in the early days of November. The strike spread to the Coal Mines of the other States : Hughes held a conference, but without success : he then appointed a special tribunal which settled the matter by conceding the miners' demands, and before the middle of December work was resumed at all the mines. In 1917, the set-back which Labour experienced at the General Election had a like effect upon the Industrialists as their success in the previous year, but still more dangerous and far-reaching. At the beginning of August the employees in the railway workshops of the New South Wales Government went out on strike : the strike passed on from railway men to other transport workers, seamen, and coal miners ; from Sydney, always the main centre of industrial disturbance, to almost all parts of Australia, which was described as having been caught in a hurricane of strikes. But, backed by strong public opinion and the good sense of the general community, the New South Wales Government stood firm : not all of the railway men left their work, and volunteer labour partially made good the strikers' default. In the event the railway strike collapsed before the end of September, at the beginning of October the coal miners went back to work, and for the time the trouble passed away. Enemy agencies and Pacifist poison no doubt fomented class bitterness in Australia, as in other parts of the Empire : delays in awards on wages disputes are said to have given bona fide ground for restiveness and discontent ; but, apart from all other causes, the strikes were clearly the aftermath of the political struggle, in 1917 an ugly expression of resentment for defeat at the polls, which presaged further difficulties for the Government.

Month by month the question of man power became more pressing and more acute. The losses in the Gallipoli Peninsula were multiplied on the Western front and, to a lesser degree, in the Sinai Peninsula. It became a matter not of adding to the total number of Australian fighting men but of keeping up to strength the divisions in the field. On the 22nd of February 1917, according to a statement made in the House of Representatives, over and above the sick and wounded, of whom 43 per cent. returned to duty, and in addition to rather less than 1,000 Australians taken prisoners, the dead and missing exceeded 22,000, equal to the total number of the original Australian Expeditionary Force. The statistics, which were

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given from time to time, were very various and not always consistent. On the 27th of September 1916, before the first referendum was taken, it was stated in the House that the number of men in the Commonwealth between the limits of age proposed for conscription, 21 to 45, was 700,000 ; that up to the 20th of that month over 318,000 had enlisted, and 116,000 rejected on medical grounds. On the 14th of June 1917 over 300,000 were returned as having embarked on overseas service. In that same month, June 1917, 140,000 single and 280,000 married Australians of fighting age were reported not to have enlisted. It was not the case that Australia had been found wanting under the voluntary system. In proportion to the small population, the answer to the call to arms had been extraordinarily good. But more could be done than had been done. It was difficult for the general public of the Commonwealth, far removed from the heart of the crisis, fully to appreciate the gravity of the position, to realize that the object of the war could only be attained by acting up to the standard of the last man and the last shilling. The Government, on the other hand, knew accurately the facts of the case and, faced with the facts, saw no other solution than conscription. But they were bound by their pledges, and had only two alternatives—to hold another General Election within a few months of their late victory, or to take a second referendum. They chose the referendum. On this latter occasion no law was passed to authorize the referendum : it was taken by Executive order issued under the War Precautions Act, and the question submitted to the people was more carefully safeguarded than in 1916, in order, as far as possible, to disarm opposition. Its terms ran : 'Are you in favour of the Commonwealth Government's proposals for reinforcing the Australian Imperial Forces overseas ?' The electors were not asked to add to the number of troops serving overseas, but only to maintain their strength ; and the limitations embodied in the Government scheme were as follows : Voluntary enlistment was to continue ; the number of reinforcements required was estimated at 7,000 men a month : compulsory reinforcements were to be called up by ballot to the extent to which voluntary enlistment failed to supply the required number ; the ballot was to be confined to single men only, between the ages of 20 and 44 years, including widowers and divorcees who had no children

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dependent upon them; the exemptions were to include married men, ministers of religion, persons employed in war occupations prescribed as essential, persons whose religious belief did not allow them to bear arms (a provision applicable to combatant service only), and persons who could not be called up without inflicting undue hardship upon their dependents. With these limitations there were strong hopes that conscription would be accepted; and hopes ran higher when the news came that, at a General Election in Canada, Sir Robert Borden had carried conscription by a sweeping majority. But, when the question was answered in Australia on the 20th of December 1917, the Noes were in a much larger majority than in the previous year, a majority of 165,000. Only two States now voted Yes, Western Australia and Tasmania, and the voice of Western Australia was not so decided as it had been in 1916. There was again a small majority for conscription among the soldiers, but it was clearly rejected by the electorate of the Commonwealth.

Had it been rejected on its merits? and had the referendum answered the purpose for which it had been devised? The fate of the first referendum really decided the fate of the second. On either occasion there were genuine arguments against conscription. Farmers feared shortage of labour; foodstuffs, it was contended, were of no less value for war purposes than additional soldiers; the vital industries of Australia would be injured by depletion of able-bodied men: women voters, ready to let their men go warring of their own free will, were not prepared to compel them or the husbands and sons of other women to risk their lives: volunteer soldiers already serving were not disposed to welcome conscripts into their ranks. There were again objections in the form of contentious generalities of doubtful value, that conscription was undemocratic, that the voluntary system had not had a fair trial, that Australia had already done her share,[1] that those who were ineligible for active service had no right to vote for sending other men into danger. Once more, in either year, there were well-known elements of active disloyalty or passive ill will. Citizens of German ancestry and a section of

[1] It must be remembered that Australia maintained without conscription a larger number of divisions than Canada, and suffered rather greater losses, since a considerable proportion of the Canadians belonged to forestry and railway companies.

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Irish voters were against the measure, anti-British feeling among the latter being stimulated by a Roman Catholic prelate of Melbourne, at no pains to disguise his Sinn Fein sympathies. In Western Australia, which, though the home of a mining democracy, affirmed conscription in both years, the personal influence of the two leading West Australian statesmen, Sir John Forrest and Mr. Pearce, now on the same side, may have counted for much; but what probably counted for more was that here there was a greater preponderance than in the Eastern States of purely English and Scottish elements. Apart from all these contributory causes, however, there was one main outstanding reason for the result, that Labour had been antagonized and Labour meant to have its revenge. Mr. Hughes had displayed patriotic zeal and political courage beyond all question and deserving of all praise, but he had been found wanting in discretion of speech and in choice of methods. The calling up of men into the training camps in advance of the first referendum had left a bad taste in their mouths; there had been a suspicion of intent by the Government to intimidate those who held back from active service; and a great, broad, national issue had been narrowed and clouded by personal recrimination. When, in 1917, the Prime Minister staked the existence of his Government upon a favourable answer to the referendum, it was a direct invitation to his political opponents to negative conscription, in order to get rid of himself. It is impossible to study the course of events in Australia in these two years, and the trend of public feeling, without coming to the conclusion that the outcome might have been widely different if, on his return from England in 1916, in spite of the urgent calls of the war, Mr. Hughes had decided for a while to 'wait and see'.

Students of constitutional history will note that in Great Britain and in Canada, where the referendum was not in practice and not recognized by the Constitution, conscription was eventually carried, certainly in Canada, and, as far as can be inferred, in Great Britain also, by consent of the large majority of the nation; whereas, in Australia, where before the war the likelihood of adoption of compulsory military service would have seemed far greater, the use of the referendum produced the contrary result. The conclusion may be drawn that, had the one single issue been presented to British and Canadian electors, they too would have voted No. But a retrospect of

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the conditions under which the referenda were taken in the Commonwealth, seems rather to teach the lesson that it is practically impossible to propound a single question to a democracy and secure a decision exclusively on its merits, that all the prejudices and all the manifold considerations of party and of class are called into play, that a great political issue cannot be isolated.

The Commonwealth Parliament, which had adjourned on the 27th of September 1917, met again on the 9th of January 1918. The Prime Minister at once moved an adjournment on the ground that the Government had resigned; and when the House met on the following day, he announced that he had been commissioned to form, and had formed, a new Government, which was in effect the same as the outgoing ministry. The explanation was forthcoming in the form of a memorandum supplied by the Governor-General. It seemed that on the 8th Hughes had resigned unconditionally, in accordance with his pledges when the referendum was taken, and had tendered no advice to Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson. The latter considered that his choice of Ministers must be guided by the Parliamentary situation. Within Parliament he found no indications of defeat of the National party. He consulted representatives of all sections with a view to determining where the majority lay and what prospects there were of forming an alternative Ministry, and he came to the conclusion that the National party was most likely to retain cohesion, and that in that party Hughes was the leader best calculated to secure unity. He therefore commissioned him to form a new government. It was gathered, though there was no formal statement to that effect, that Tudor, the leader of the Opposition, had been sent for and had asked for a dissolution, which, in view of the fact that the House was not nine months old, Sir Ronald had refused.

Thus the old Ministry continued to hold office, but, in the public eyes, with greatly diminished credit. Pledges had been kept in the letter but not in the spirit. The objections to a General Election in the first year of a three-years' Parliament, at a time when the interests of the whole Empire demanded, as far as possible, a truce in party strife, were great and obvious. Yet, as a choice of evils, an appeal to the people would probably have been the better course: at least, it would have placed

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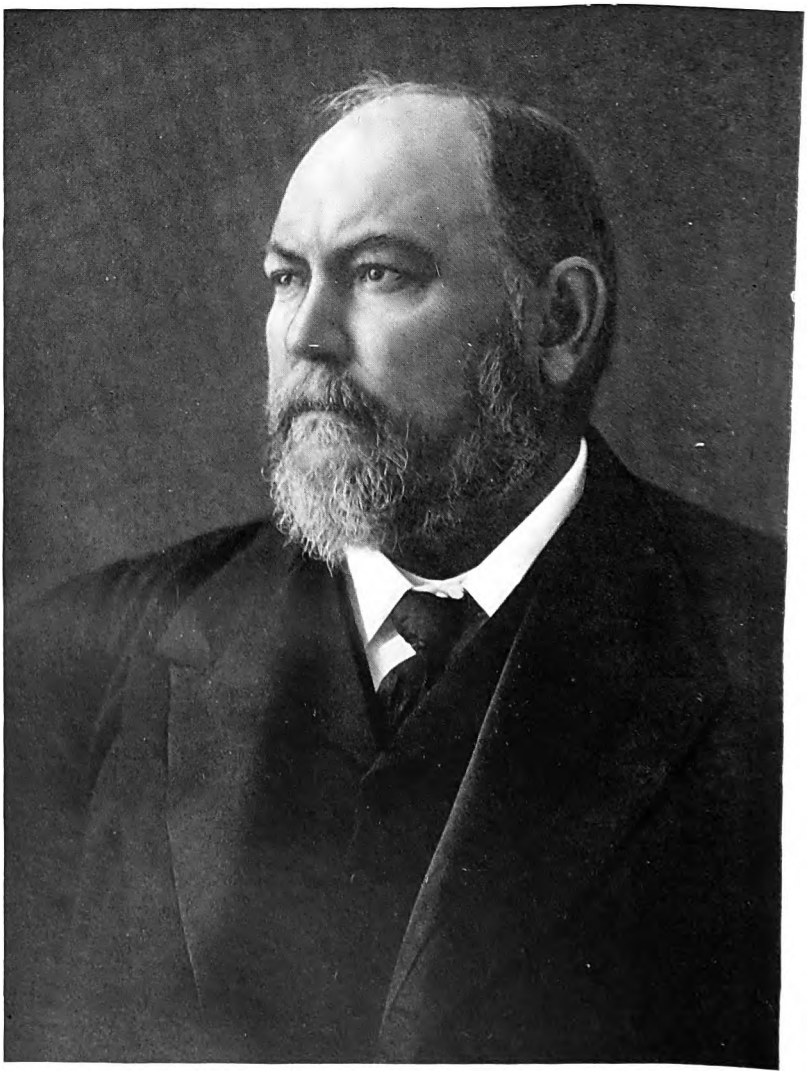

LORD FORREST

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the good faith of the Prime Minister beyond suspicion. Meanwhile within Parliament his majority was secure. Immediately, on the 11th of January, Tudor moved a vote of want of confidence, in terms calculated to bring to his side all malcontents. His motion averred that Ministers had repudiated their pledges, that in the referendum campaign they had been guilty of political persecution under cover of War Precautions regulations, that they had deprived Australian citizens of their electoral rights, and generally, that by maladministration they had forfeited the confidence of the country. The Debate began on the 11th, the division was taken on the 18th and gave the Government a majority of more than two to one, 43 votes to 19. Two days later the House again adjourned, having taken a vote on account, which was moved by Sir John Forrest on the 10th of January in what proved to be his last financial statement. Before the adjournment the Prime Minister outlined the policy of the Government, a policy ambitious and energetic as himself. He and his colleagues would devote their attention, he said, 'wholeheartedly and without delay', to the question of securing the necessary reinforcements, to repatriation, to organization of industry, shipbuilding, disposal of primary products, and to finance. During the short session again he made overtures to the Opposition, offering himself to stand out of the Ministry, if by so doing he could secure national unity during and for the purposes of the war. But feeling was too bitter, the offer was in vain, and the House rose with no sign of reconciliation between the Government and their political opponents.

It did not meet again until the beginning of April, and much happened in the meantime. The final great German offensive began on the 21st of March, and with it came the supreme crisis of the Empire and the call to all its sons. Much about the same time Hughes reconstructed his Ministry. In personnel the most noteworthy change was caused by the retirement of Sir John Forrest, who now became Lord Forrest, the first Australian Peer. He had been ill, in the early stages of the sickness which proved fatal later in the year, and over and above bad health he had latterly not been wholly at one with his colleagues, not having been a party to the decision to take a second referendum on conscription. His place as Treasurer was taken by Watt, who had already acted for him, and who now found full scope

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for his powers. There were other consequent changes of office and there was also a multiplication of Ministers and of Boards. It was an inevitable result of the war, more pronounced as the war was prolonged, to add to the machinery of Government. It was in evidence everywhere, in Canada for instance, and still more in the United Kingdom. Two Ministers of State Acts were passed in the Commonwealth during the war, both of which increased the number of salaried Ministers. The first, passed in July 1915 by Mr. Fisher's Government, raised the maximum number from seven to eight. This was in order to provide for a Minister for the Navy, the first appointment dating from the 12th of July 1915. There was no doubt that Australia had fully made up her mind as to a naval future for the Commonwealth, and the importance attached to this post was shown by the fact that it was held by Sir Joseph Cook in the National Government. The second Act was passed in September 1917. It raised the maximum again, from eight to nine, and thereby provided for a Minister of Repatriation, a direct outcome of the war. The first appointment was made on the 28th of September 1917. The paid Ministers were supplemented by unpaid. The reconstructed Government of March 1918 included four honorary Ministers. One was to have entire control of recruiting, the most vital question of the moment. A second was to take charge of shipping and shipbuilding, and to act for the Minister of the Navy when the latter went to England to attend the Imperial Conference. A third was, as Assistant Minister of Defence—an already existing office—to deal with certain specified subjects in connexion with the armed forces of the Commonwealth; while the fourth was to be associated with the Minister of Trade and Customs. To the Ministry of Trade and Customs war-time questions relating to metals, wool, wheat, and other primary products, which the Prime Minister had hitherto handled, were to be relegated, and under the Minister a Board was to be formed for the purpose, consisting of two of his colleagues and two representative men of business. It was one of various new Boards or Councils which were called into being under stress of the war, a Council of Defence, a Council of Finance, a Council of Trade and Commerce, a Shipping Committee, and so forth. The Attorney-General—Mr. Hughes himself—was to add to his duties those of Minister of Labour, and was to be assisted in the latter

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capacity by an Advisory Council of six, three employers and three employees. It was a very full-blooded scheme of reconstruction and bore witness to the manifold and constantly expanding activities of the Central Government. In 1917, as the outcome of the completion of the Port Augusta–Kalgoorlie railway, a Commonwealth Railways Act had been passed and a Commissioner of Commonwealth Railways appointed.

It has been seen that the Commonwealth Government had become shipowners. Like other shipowners, they lost vessels sunk by German submarines, and the growing shortage of ships for coasting as well as ocean traffic, the spectacle of thousands of tons of Australian wheat waiting month after month to be sent to England, where it was sorely needed, in the autumn of 1917 set the Ministry on the problem of shipbuilding. The announcement that a Minister had been appointed to take charge of shipping and shipbuilding was accompanied by details of the shipbuilding scheme which the Government had framed. Labour had been called into conference and Trades Union co-operation in the main secured. The Commonwealth Government was to build ships itself at the Victorian State shipbuilding yard at Williamstown, taken over for the purpose, shipbuilding contracts had been made with State Governments and with private Australian firms, and orders for ships had been placed in the United States. Later, in the Budget speech of the 25th of September 1918, the details were amplified. Forty-eight ships were to be built in Australia, 24 of steel, 24 of wood, at a cost of some £5½ millions. It was an ambitious scheme, so far with more promise than performance. Still, an impetus had been given to a new industry for Australia, and the initiative had come from the Central Government. The building of warships had gone forward also, and towards the end of July the *Adelaide*, laid down and built in Australia, was launched. Meanwhile equally elaborate plans were made to utilize existing shipping to the best advantage. It has already been told that in February 1917 a Commonwealth Shipping Board had been formed, to take under its control the whole of the overseas shipping business. Now, under the Minister of Shipping, a Controller of Shipping was appointed, and two Deputy Controllers, one for overseas shipping the other for coastal shipping, and these officers, with six representatives of the Inter-State Shipping Companies, were to constitute an Inter-State Central Committee.

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The Ministerial statement, which told the House and the Public how the Government had been reconstructed and what was its policy, was made in the 10th of April, the House having met on the 4th. It was a feature of the Commonwealth Parliament in 1917–18 that adjournments took the place of separate sessions, and Ministerial statements of Governor-General's speeches. On this occasion Cook made the statement, in the absence, through illness, of the Prime Minister, and he announced that the Prime Minister and himself would represent Australia at the coming Imperial Conference in London. It was imperative that the Commonwealth should be fully represented, seeing that at the important Conference of 1917 there had been no Australian spokesman. The two Ministers left for England in the last week of April, the Conference met in June and July, but the subsequent march of events, the rapid breakdown of the Germans, followed by the long lingering process of peace negotiations, kept them away from Australia and Australian politics for an unprecedented time, the better part of one and a half years. In Hughes's absence Watt acted as Prime Minister, and steered the ship of state during the last months of the war and in the difficult interval between war and peace.

Before the two Ministers left, the Governor-General made an effort to solve the recruiting problem. The Chief Justice of Australia, Sir Samuel Griffith, deservedly high in public confidence and esteem, had been called in by the Government to pronounce, as a Royal Commissioner, upon the minimum number of monthly enlistments needed in order to keep the Australian forces at the front up to strength. The monthly quota was given by him as 5,400. With this number for a text, and with the backing given by the urgent call from home for every available man to stem the German tide, Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson called together a Conference of representative men of all parties and all classes alike in States and Commonwealth. They met at Melbourne on the 12th of April and conferred for a full week. Labour was difficult. Its chief spokesmen were Tudor, in virtue of being the leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party in the Commonwealth, and Ryan, the Labour Premier of Queensland, who had been a protagonist against conscription, and had in March been returned to power at a State election with an increased majority. Tudor set

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forth, as the price of Labour co-operation, a series of political and industrial demands, including a formal and final renunciation of conscription. The demands were very largely conceded, and Hughes pronounced conscription to be dead, as far as his Government was concerned. Still, the Conference could not be brought to agree upon any resolution stronger than one urging 'the people of Australia to unite in a wholehearted effort to secure the necessary reinforcements under the voluntary system'. Tudor and Ryan subsequently appeared upon recruiting platforms, but the extreme men behind them were irreconcileable and began openly to advocate a Stop the War policy. Early in June, at a New South Wales State Labour Conference, and a little later in the same month at an Inter-State Labour Conference at Perth, resolutions were passed demanding immediate peace negotiations. The war was denounced, and so was Imperial Federation: the Empire and all it stood for was at a discount among the Labour extremists who dominated the Perth gathering. The voice purported to be the voice of the working classes of Australia, but the hand—the hidden hand—was that of men whose sympathies were with the misscalled Industrial Workers of the World, the revolutionaries against whom in the two previous years Unlawful Associations Acts had been passed. It is true that a similar trend of feeling was in evidence in some Labour quarters in the United Kingdom, but the movement was more substantial in Australia and more dangerous, inasmuch as in Australia alone within the British Empire Labour had before the war already achieved ascendancy. Yet there was clear evidence that the violent utterances of these Labour meetings did not express the true mind of the Australian people. The Queensland Labour Government, supported by the disloyal element among Irish Roman Catholics, was at this date the only Labour Government in Australia. A State Election held in South Australia in April resulted in a handsome majority for a Coalition Government standing for a National policy. In April and May the recruiting figures went up in answer to the crisis; and, though they dropped again to some extent and the Perth Conference deterred Labour Leaders from taking part in the recruiting movement, the enlistments were maintained at a fair level and the Commonwealth as a whole was minded to fight the war through to the end. No effort was spared by the Minister for Recruiting, the

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Director-General of Recruiting, and the Recruiting Committees constituted in each State. That their work did not meet with greater success was due in part to the undoubted fact that the strain on Australian man power had been very severe, but mainly to the opposition of a truculent minority, who, in the absence on active service of far better citizens than themselves, in Australia as elsewhere, exercised machine-made influence out of proportion to their numbers, and blurred the path of public duty by appeal to class interests. The end of the war came before their policy had borne full fruit, but not before Australian soldiers at the front had suffered from it in want of relief, for lack of men to relieve them.

The House sat from the 4th of April to the 15th of June. One conspicuous figure was missing, in addition to Lord Forrest. This was Sir William Irvine, who had finally left political life to be Chief Justice of the State of Victoria. The business during this session, or part of a session, was mainly financial, but in the earlier weeks there was much controversy and party strife. On the 17th of April a division was taken on a Supply Bill, which gave the Government a majority of 14 in a House of 46. The Ministerial Statement led to a long debate on a motion fathered by Tudor, to the effect that Hughes and Cook, then on the eve of leaving for the Imperial Conference, did not represent Australian public opinion. On the very day of his departure, the 24th of April, Hughes defended himself in the House, and two days later the division gave the Government a majority of 2 to 1. There was another trial of strength between the two parties on the War Loan Bill. As the £80 millions asked for were for the prosecution of the war, Tudor was held in order in moving an amendment which condemned the Government for enlisting youths of 18 who had not obtained the consent of their parents. On the 24th of May the amendment was rejected—deservedly—by more than 2 to 1, and the Government carried this and their other financial Bills together with a Bill which amended the Repatriation Act of 1917. As the session went on, party bitterness was less in evidence: the absence of Hughes and the tactful leading of Watt smoothed the path of public business, and when the House adjourned, Watt was able to congratulate the members upon greater harmony than had prevailed for some time past.

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Three months later, on the 18th of September, the legislators came together again. They had to record the loss, and pay a tribute to the memory, of two great Australian citizens who had lately died, Lord Forrest on the 2nd of September, Sir George Reid on the 12th. Lord Forrest died at sea on his way to England to seek in the last resort further medical advice, and was buried at Sierra Leone on the following day. Sir George Reid died in London. Both men had passed the span of three score years and ten, Reid being the senior by two and a half years. Both were high in the list of the fathers of the Commonwealth. Poles asunder in character and in temperament, both had rendered signal service to Australia. They were in every sense of the word outstanding figures in Australian public life, and when they died they left behind them wide circles of mourning friends. Though not spared to see the end of the war, now coming rapidly nearer day by day, at least they had seen the turn of the tide, for when the House met, the crisis was past, the clouds had lifted once for all, and the sun of victory had begun to shine upon the Empire.

On the 19th of September, the day after Parliament met, there was a short ministerial speech, and an intimation that the session was to be essentially a business session, to which end a new standing order was in due course introduced and passed, limiting debate. The Government gave a fuller account of their stewardship, when Watt made his Budget Speech on the 25th of the month. Finance took up most of the time, and the new taxes have been already noticed, but there was other legislation also, including a War Services Homes Act for the benefit of Australian fighting men ; a law continuing the War Precautions Act, which involved some controversy ; and a comprehensive consolidating and amending electoral act, which introduced the system of preferential voting for the Federal House of Representatives. Preferential voting had for some years been in operation for the State Legislatures in four out of the six States, viz. Victoria, Queensland, Western Australia, and Tasmania. There was a certain amount of party warfare and no little 'sniping' at the absent Australian representatives in London, aided by a widespread belief that Hughes and Cook were not at one. From the first Labour had contended that their two principal political opponents did not represent Australian public opinion, though the record of the

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subsequent peace negotiations proved that at least they were outspoken advocates of Australian interests. But on the whole the Session ran a fairly tranquil course, and when the House rose on the 20th of December, there was a becoming interchange of courtesies. This was due in part to Watt's conciliatory attitude towards his political opponents, but also to the receipt in mid-session of the news of the Armistice, which could not but conduce to harmony. It reached Australia on the evening of the memorable 11th of November, and spread like a bush fire from city to suburb, from suburb to country side. In Australia, as in England, it was received with universal joy and thanksgiving, expressed in human inconsequent fashion. Solemnity competed with revelry, hymns and popular songs were intermixed, there was a blend of reverence and uproariousness. The following day was constituted a general holiday, there were services in the churches, meetings in the halls, crowds in the streets. The dead were not forgotten in mind or speech, and the Allies were very present, for at the time there was a French National Economic Mission in the Commonwealth, headed by General Pau, a one-armed veteran of the Franco-German War of 1870. The House of Representatives was not sitting at the moment: it had risen on the 8th, and met again on the 13th, the Senate having met on the 12th. In either House a loyal address, in answer to the King's message, was moved by the Leader of the Government, seconded by the Leader of the Opposition, carried unanimously, and followed by singing the National Anthem. The Address registered 'thanks to God for the triumph of righteousness over the forces of evil', and—with the best of reasons—it proudly recorded that the soldiers and sailors of Australia had 'by their dauntless heroism and endurance conspicuously assisted in re-establishing freedom and justice'. Passed by both Houses, it was forthwith upon the steps of the Federal Parliament House handed to the Governor-General for transmission to the King. What was further in Australian minds was shown by prompt notice of a motion, given by the Acting Prime Minister, to the effect that the lost German possessions in the Pacific should not be returned to Germany, and that Australia should be consulted as to their disposal. On the next day, the 14th, Watt moved this resolution in a speech which made the inevitable time-honoured

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criticism of the Colonial Office for past sins of omission. Downing Street had always been 'hours behind the clock', and the record of British dealings with Pacific problems was 'a history of lethargy and neglect for which the Colonial Office was chiefly responsible'. The motion placed Tudor in an uncomfortable position. The extreme wing of the Labour party had been making in familiar terms irresponsible pronouncements against annexations, but they knew and Tudor knew perfectly well that the main body of Australians were otherwise minded. Accordingly he had to take up a half-hearted non-committal attitude, seeing no necessity for the resolution, but not intending to vote against it unless it was evident that its supporters were out for land grabbing. The motion was carried unopposed, and strengthened the hands of the Australian delegates in view of the coming Peace Conference. One result of the Armistice, it may be noted, was the dispatch of yet another Minister to London, Mr. Pearce, the Minister of Defence. His special mission was to provide for the occupation of the Australian troops pending their return to Australia, and to watch over their training for civil life.

Everywhere in the Empire the main work of repatriation was of necessity subsequent to the war, and therefore subsequent to the period covered by this book; but everywhere also, as the war went on, soldiers were brought home from the front, temporarily or permanently unfit for service, their cases demanded and received immediate attention from public or private sources, and meanwhile plans were gradually evolved for systematic repatriation, in the widest sense, when the war was over. Speaking in the Senate on the 2nd of May 1918, the Minister for Repatriation, Mr. E. D. Millen, stated that by the end of 1917 50,609 Australian soldiers had returned, of whom more than 40,000 had been discharged, and of the latter number 26,500 had been helped by one organization or another.

In Australia, as elsewhere, in the earlier stages of the war, while only comparatively few invalided soldiers were trickling home, there was a time of indecision as to whether the charge of such men should be left wholly or in part to voluntary agencies, or whether it should be taken over entirely by the Government; and in Australia the matter was complicated by the dual Government machinery of State and Common-

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wealth, side by side with voluntary agencies. The Public Lands, except in the Northern Territory, were and are the property of the States, not of the Commonwealth, and soldier settlement was therefore primarily a matter for the States. Thus in April 1916, the year in which the Commonwealth Parliament first passed an act on the subject of repatriation, the New South Wales Legislature passed a Returned Soldiers' Settlement Act, and in the following October a Director of Soldiers' Settlements was appointed in that State, under whom there was a Returned Soldiers' Settlement Board, while the Act contained provisions for setting aside for the benefit of returned soldiers lands which were available under other acts, and also for giving financial assistance in clearing and stocking the land, erecting buildings, and so forth. In all the States Soldier Settlement Acts were passed, varying in their provisions. Thus, while the New South Wales Act applied only to Australian soldiers, a Queensland Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act, passed in February 1917, was not confined to Australians alone. Australia, like Canada, had a great advantage over an old country, in having abundance of land for soldier settlers, and in Australia interest combined with goodwill to incline the legislatures, or some of them, to find land for soldier settlers from the Mother Country, in addition to returned Australians, and thus to minister to a White Australia of homogeneous British stock. But repatriation covers a very much wider field than land settlement alone, and as the months and years went on, the problem grew in magnitude and in urgency.

The Federal Government began by trying to secure uniform treatment for returned soldiers in the different States, and inviting and encouraging voluntary effort. It opened a subscription list, gave a first subscription of £50,000, and in May 1916, went on to pass the Australian Soldiers' Repatriation Fund Act. This act constituted by name trustees of a repatriation fund, of whom the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth was to be *ex officio* chairman. It empowered the trustees to appoint an Executive Committee, and gave them authority to allot money or property from and for the purposes of the fund to bodies appointed or formally recognized by the States Governments and, in addition, approved by the Governor-General of the Commonwealth. These bodies were styled

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State War Councils. The Councils varied somewhat in the different States, and their activities were by no means confined to the work of repatriation. The State War Councils Act, passed by the Victorian Legislature in October 1916, incorporated the existing members of 'the body heretofore called the State War Council of Victoria', and defined their functions as the control and administration of war funds. Before this act was passed, the Victorian State War Council existed in virtue of a minute of the Victorian Cabinet, which authorized it to regulate, and, if thought necessary, prohibit collections for purposes connected with the war. When by the act it was given statutory powers, it added to its functions the grant of assistance in exceptional cases of hardship among soldiers' dependants, giving grants from £2 to £10 from a small fund principally supplied by the Red Cross. Then it assumed the more general duty of helping returned soldiers, opened a fund of its own, and accepted contributions from the public. As late as the early months of 1918, before the Commonwealth Repatriation Act of 1917 came into force. it issued an appeal for these purposes and raised £110,000. The State War Council of South Australia was incorporated by a War Funds Regulation Act passed in November 1916. Western Australia, as early as December 1915, passed a comprehensive War Council Act, which laid down that the duties of the Council would be to regulate and control collections in money and kind for war purposes, to control collecting committees, to devise schemes for the re-employment of returned soldiers, for the training of the partially disabled, and for returned soldiers' land settlement, to regulate recruiting and to deal with such other matters as should be delegated to the Council either by the State Government or by the Federal War Committee. The Tasmanian State War Council was formed in October 1915 under the direction of the Federal Government, 'for the purpose of stimulating and organizing recruiting in the State and the repatriation of our returned soldiers'.[1] The first chairman was the then Premier of the State, Mr. John Earle, and in September 1916 the control of patriotic fund collections was vested in the Council. The State War Councils were, in short, emergency bodies called into existence by the war, and apparently, in most cases, their primary concern was super-

[1] *Tasmania's War Record*, 1921, p. 5.

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vision of voluntary effort in the direction of war funds and charities, regulation of public appeals for patriotic objects, and administration of funds granted to them either directly by the public or from other funds, but with no legal power to levy money themselves. Thus they were agencies ready to hand for the work of repatriation, when that work began to be systematized, and they were also available for recruiting purposes, recruiting being, as has been seen in the case of Tasmania, the original object for which the Council was formed in that State. To these Councils the trustees of the Repatriation Fund under the Commonwealth Act of 1916 allotted funds to administer and distribute for the benefit of returned soldiers, and those funds were supplemented by whatever money was forthcoming for the same purpose from other sources in each State. The Minister for Repatriation stated that, prior to the 8th of April 1918, when the new Repatriation Act of 1917 came into force and the Repatriation Fund Act was repealed, £328,000 had been expended under the direction of the trustees of the Repatriation Fund for the benefit of returned soldiers in addition to between £800,000 and £1,000,000 from patriotic funds, and an unrecorded amount from local funds. The Federal Treasurer's financial statement of the 6th March 1917 showed that at that date the trustees of the Repatriation Fund had received £325,000, of which very little had so far been spent. But of this sum £250,000 was Commonwealth money, granted out of the revenue for 1915–16. There had been some private subscriptions, notably a gift of £30,000 from a Melbourne firm, and the State War Councils had received sums from Red Cross funds. But the support given directly by the general public to the cause of repatriation was not, except at first, large or widespread, for the simple reason that it became increasingly obvious that the objects could not possibly be compassed by private munificence, and that the taxpayer would eventually have to find the necessary money, the estimate of which, as the war went on, rose by leaps and bounds. It has been seen that the original budget of the Commonwealth for 1916–17, which the Labour Ministry's Treasurer, Mr. Higgs, presented on the 27th of September 1916, embodied a proposal for a Levy on Wealth for the benefit of the Repatriation Fund, amounting to 1½ per cent. on all estates, real and personal, of £500 and upwards. It was pro-

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posed that the tax should be paid in three annual instalments, unless the taxpayer preferred to pay the whole at once, receiving discount on prepayment, and the Treasurer estimated the receipts from this source in 1916–17 at £3,333,000, or £10,000,000 in all in the three years. His successor in Mr. Hughes's reconstructed Government, Mr. Poynton, produced a revised budget on the following 6th of December, and, on the ground that more money would, under Mr. Higgs's plan, be taken out of the taxpayers' pockets than was wanted or likely to be wanted at the time for repatriation, he proposed to spread the tax over five years. When, however, the Coalition Government came into office in the following February, 1917, the Levy on Wealth disappeared.

By this time the Commonwealth and the States had, in January 1917, agreed upon a repatriation policy, which, in the matter of land settlement, included British sailors and soldiers as well as Australians. Under the scheme the States were to carry out the work of land settlement with money borrowed from the Commonwealth, while for other assistance to returned Australians the Commonwealth was to be solely and directly responsible, using for the purpose, in the first instance, the sums placed in the Repatriation Fund. The total eventual cost of repatriation was at first estimated at some £32,000,000; soon a sum of £60,000,000 was mentioned. According to the financial statement of the 6th March 1917 the expenditure of the then current financial year, 1916–17, included £750,000 to be lent to the States for settling soldiers on the land, and the estimate given of the amount which the States would require for land settlement, irrespective of the purchase of lands, for three years dating from the 1st of July 1916, was nearly £19 millions, to provide for 27,000 soldier settlers. The Federal Budget for 1917–18, laid before the House of Representatives on the 8th of August 1917, included £3,000,000 for repatriation, of which £2,000,000 were to be found from War Loan and to be advanced to the States for land settlement, while £1,000,000 was to be provided from revenue for general repatriation purposes.

The States and Commonwealth having agreed upon a common policy, in September 1917 the Federal Parliament passed an Australian Soldiers' Repatriation Act, and a Commonwealth Minister for Repatriation was appointed. This Act

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repealed the Act of 1916 and created a complete machinery for dealing with repatriation. It consisted of a Repatriation Commission of seven members, of State Repatriation Boards, and of Local Committees. Two of the members of the Repatriation Commission and of each of the State Boards were to be returned soldiers or sailors. All were to be appointed by the Governor-General. The Repatriation Commission was made a corporate body and the Minister was to be its chairman. The act did not come into force till the 8th of April 1918, so that ample time was given to organize what became a new and most important Government department, and in June 1918 an amending act was passed which, among other amendments, strengthened the position of the Minister by making him, instead of the Commission, a corporate body. Before 1918 ended the Repatriation Acts were supplemented by a War Service Homes Act, to make provision for homes for Australian soldiers and female dependants of Australian soldiers. This act created a War Service Homes Commissioner, who, like the Minister for repatriation, was legally incorporated, but who was to be subject to the Minister's direction. Finally, under an act of 1920, the Repatriation Commission took over the administration of war pensions. A feature of this carefully thought out scheme of repatriation was that the returned soldiers were given a voice in working it by representation both on the Central Commission and on the State Boards, and in addition the Minister for Repatriation stated that 90 per cent. of the staff employed were returned soldiers.

When the Repatriation Act of 1917 came into operation on the 8th April 1918, the State War Councils ceased to have any concern with repatriation, being replaced by the Commonwealth Department, but, as had been agreed, the different States still handled the question of land settlement. It was finally decided that the States should provide the land, place the soldiers on it and supervise them, while the Commonwealth should provide in each case £500 for working capital. But as in other matters, so in this, all the States did not come into line, Queensland stood out, and for the time acted independently under her Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act.

The last Budget of the Commonwealth prior to the Armistice, Mr. Watt's Budget for 1918–19, which was presented on the 25th of September 1918, provided £3,230,000 for Repatriation,

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viz. £1,000,000 for general repatriation purposes ; £1,500,000 for advances to the States for Land Settlement ; £500,000 for Forestry ; £230,000 for National Workshops, Training Establishments, &c. His successor had to find a very much larger sum, for the Armistice brought repatriation in full flood. Mr. Watt, it may be added, also estimated for £5,000,000 for war pensions, and when the financial year ended on 30th June 1919, very nearly that sum had been spent in 181,529 pensions, 71,512 to incapacitated soldiers, 110,017 to the dependants of those who went to fight.

Hard cases and individual complaints are the inevitable concomitants of so difficult and complicated a matter as repatriation ; among returned Australians there were not a few cases of real hardship, and the administration of the War Service Homes gave ground for criticism. A combination of Government and private effort, such as was tried in the initial stages, does not make for system ; in the beginning the work of the State War Councils was somewhat haphazard and ill-regulated ; only by degrees was the question handled on well-defined lines. But when it was so handled, the treatment was comprehensive and generous, and if from the magnitude and complexity of the problem mistakes were made, liberal treatment of men who had fought and suffered for the Commonwealth, and of the dependants of those who had given their lives, or were wholly or partially disabled, was a cardinal principle of Australian democracy ; and as the special conditions of Australia, in particular the relations of States and Commonwealth added to the difficulties, so they added to the interest attaching to the evolution of the problem, and account for the space which has been given to the subject in these pages. Mr. Millen claimed that Australia was ' the first country which had presented a scheme for repatriation, complete and comprehensive, in that it made provision for every returning soldier ', and that Canada had in the matter of repatriation followed the lead given by Australia. Every returned Australian soldier was prior to discharge in the care of the Defence Department, after discharge he passed into the care of the Repatriation Department, and, without following out the many beneficent activities of the latter department, we may accept the Minister's statement that the base principle on which it worked, was ' that the Department accept as the minimum

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obligation the responsibility of providing the returned soldier with an opportunity of earning at least a living wage, and that until such opportunity is forthcoming sustenance be granted '.

A section of the Repatriation Act of 1917 provided that 'subject to this Act no person shall without the approval in writing of the Commission or a State Board (proof whereof shall be upon the person) invite subscriptions or organize any scheme for raising money for the repatriation of Australian soldiers or for any purpose connected therewith'; and the amending act of 1918 substituted for the latter part of this sentence, 'invite subscriptions or raise money by any means whatsoever for any patriotic fund or any fund in relation to the War'. Thus, inasmuch as the primary function of most of the State War Councils was to control War Charities, and the State Acts which created them or gave them statutory powers remained in force after the Councils had ceased to deal with repatriation, there were, side by side, Commonwealth and State laws dealing with the same subject-matter, with a risk of friction between the two authorities; but, as a matter of fact, the State Councils were the channels through which the Minister for Repatriation enforced the Commonwealth law.

Proverbial Australian generosity was at flood tide in the years of the war. According to the Commonwealth Handbook[1] the total subscriptions to war patriotic funds up to 31st December 1918 were estimated at over £12,300,000. If the population of Australia is taken at an average of five millions during the war, the sum works out at nearly £2 10*s.* per head, but this estimate is probably too low. The official Year Book for New South Wales, bringing the figures for that State up to a later date, 30th June 1920, gave the total New South Wales contributions to war funds at a little over £5 millions, in addition to very large gifts in kind. Victorian contributions up to 31st March 1917 amounted to over £1,800,000, and must in the end have well exceeded £3 millions. South Australia up to the 30th June 1919 gave in cash over £1,600,000, and in kind to an estimated value of about £500,000, making a total of well over £2 millions. The contributions from Queensland have been roughly estimated at £1 million in money, irrespective of gifts in kind; Western Australia, in money and kind, gave

[1] No. 13, 1901-19, p. 894.

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up to the 31st December 1918 over £1 million ; and Tasmanian subscriptions in money and kind amounted to £352,000.

Among funds for the benefit of the Allies, Belgian relief at the beginning of the war received a very large measure of support in Australia. When the Commonwealth Parliament met after the Declaration of War and the General Election, one of its first steps was, as already mentioned, to vote £100,000 for aid to the Belgians. New South Wales gave no less than £691,000 to Belgian relief, Victoria over £300,000, Queensland nearly £200,000, South Australia £144,000, and Western Australia and Tasmania round about £70,000 in either case. Among special funds from which the Belgians benefited, was a Sydney Chamber of Commerce War Food Fund, which between August 1914 and February 1917 provided and shipped to London for Belgian refugees among others to the value of £121,000 in cash or kind. Large sums too were given for French relief, and especially for the French Red Cross, £329,000 from New South Wales, and, in one year only, £100,000 from Victoria. Nor were the other Allies by any means forgotten. New South Wales, for instance, raised £103,000 for Polish relief, including £17,000 from the State Government.

The main bulk of the subscriptions were, however, in the natural course, given for and devoted to Australian soldiers and sailors and their dependents, and to the Red Cross. It is most difficult to give any clear and accurate analysis of what was subscribed to specific objects, because the same objects were served from various funds with various names in the different States, and also because there were in most or all of the States and great cities general patriotic funds for the benefit of the Australian soldiers. A return of Australian subscriptions to war funds up to the 30th June 1917 gave over £2,700,000 as subscribed up to that date for General Patriotic Purposes and £650,000 as contributed to the Lord Mayors' Patriotic Funds. These Patriotic Funds, as a matter of fact, covered the ground which, late in the war, when repatriation work was organized and a repatriation department formed, was covered by the Government. They especially looked after the interests of the families of the men on active service. But there was very seldom a clear dividing line between the different funds and their objects during the greater part of the war. Thus, out of the £2 millions subscribed in South Australia, £623,000

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were given to a South Australia Soldiers' Fund, for the general benefit of South Australian soldiers. The principal objects of this fund were supplementing of military allowances to soldiers' dependents, grants to widows and orphans, and, until the work was taken over by the Federal Repatriation Department, provision for returned soldiers. Side by side with this main fund in South Australia was a Mayor's Patriotic Fund, a Children's Patriotic Fund, a Public Service Patriotic Fund, an Australian Soldiers' Repatriation Fund—until the Federal Department came into existence, a Central Comforts Fund, a Trench Comforts Fund, and a Cheer Up Society for sending off outgoing and welcoming returned soldiers. The Record of 'Australia Day' shows how the constitution and application of funds varied. 'Australia Day' was inaugurated in New South Wales and by the Government of New South Wales. In that State the proceeds were not given exclusively to the Red Cross. In Victoria, on the other hand, Australia Day was entirely devoted to the Red Cross, and the collection was under the auspices of the Victorian branch of the Red Cross, not of the State Government. A very large sum was realized in either case, in New South Wales £838,000, in Victoria nearly £350,000.

The Patriotic Funds which the war called into existence in Australia were matched, on a small scale, by the Australian War Contingent Association in London. Australians in London were amongst the first to form an organization to provide comforts for their soldiers, both in the field and in the hospitals. A meeting was held as early as the 10th August 1914, which was adjourned to a larger meeting held on the 19th, and the outcome was the Australian War Contingent Association. The High Commissioner for Australia, Sir George Reid, was elected Patron; Lord Chelmsford, President; and Sir Newton Moore, Chairman of the Executive Committee. Special committees were at once appointed. Upwards of £20,000 were readily subscribed, and until the Australian Red Cross began its work in London in August 1915 and the Comforts Fund started in 1916, the Association carried out successfully the provision of comforts for the field and for the hospitals. Part of its work was taken over by these newly formed organizations, and some of its members joined the Australian Red Cross Committee under Sir George Reid, and also worked in conjunction with

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the Comforts Fund. A very large staff of visitors to the hospitals, however, had been organized by the Association, and its activities in this direction were continued until all the wounded or sick Australian soldiers had been cared for and returned to Australia.

Apart from the General Patriotic Funds, though no doubt overlapped by them, the three principal agencies for the benefit of Australian fighting men were the Australian Comforts Fund, the Y.M.C.A., and the Red Cross, all of which in their respective spheres co-operated with each other. The first of these, the Australian Comforts Fund, whose head-quarters were at Sydney, was formed in 1916 by a federation of separate funds which existed under one name or another in all the six States, such as, for instance, the Lady Mayoress' Fund at Melbourne, the Patriotic Fund in Queensland, the Victoria League in Western Australia, the On Active Service Fund in Tasmania. It was in line with similar funds for the other armies of the Empire, supplying to the Australians at the front garments, socks very especially, extra food, coffee, tobacco, sweets—comforts of all kinds. It was officially concerned 'with the fighting man nearest the actual line of battle, it is its duty and privilege to do all possible to keep him well physically, and to provide him with comforts that subserve also a moral fitness'. The quotation is from the *War Workers' Gazette*, published at Sydney in aid of the Citizens' War Chest Fund, which was the New South Wales Division of the Comforts Fund, and for which a War Chest Day was organized. In all £553,000 were subscribed to the War Chest Fund by the citizens of New South Wales. The Comforts Fund had Commissioners, all unpaid, in London, France, and Egypt, and representatives in Palestine and Mesopotamia, wherever there were Australian soldiers to be ministered to and kept in health and comfort. In London its head-quarters were at 66 Victoria Street, Westminster, and for the benefit of Australian soldiers on furlough in England there was a War Chest Club in Horseferry Road, Westminster. Before the Comforts Fund federated the kindred funds of the various States, much had been done in each State. At the very outset of the war a War Chest depot was inaugurated in Sydney to provide clothing for the men in camp, before Government supplies had been organized and distributed, and, when this initial stage was over and the Expedi-

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tionary Force had started overseas, the work developed into sending clothing and other comforts after them. It was much the same in all the States, and in all the States there were numbers of funds which supplemented or fed the main fund, including the manifold funds for particular units, battalions, and batteries. Very typical of Australia, and of great practical usefulness, was the Tanned Sheepskin Clothing Committee, initiated in New South Wales in November 1914 by Mrs. McKinnon, which supplied some 110,000 sheepskin jerkins for the soldiers in the trenches. In the country centres the Comforts and Red Cross organizations often combined their activities.

The Y.M.C.A. received large subscriptions, and deserved them. It was in evidence and active work in the camps in Australia prior to the embarkation of the troops, and accompanied them overseas, its recreation huts and the facilities given for writing letters being a great boon. Its work in Egypt was exceptionally effective, and has been recorded by other writers, but the whole world bears witness to the Y.M.C.A., and tribute to it would be superfluous. Up to June 1917 Australia had contributed to its work nearly £400,000, fully three-fourths of which come from New South Wales and Victoria.

There was a small nucleus of the Red Cross in New South Wales prior to the war, a meeting having been held in Sydney in October 1913 to constitute a branch. As we have seen, it was decided at a meeting held in the Melbourne Town Hall on the 11th of August 1914 to form an Australian branch of the British Red Cross under the presidency of the wife of the Governor-General, Lady Helen Munro-Ferguson, now Lady Novar, with a division in each of the six States, over which the wife of the State Governor presided. A branch was also formed in the Northern Territory, presided over by Mrs. Gilruth, O.B.E. In the beginning it was intended to work as an integral part of the British Red Cross, and for the first six months of the war all the money collected and all the articles made were forwarded to head-quarters in London, to be used by the central administration without any limitation as to the uses to which the contributions should be applied. But a feeling soon grew up that Australia ought to have its own distinct Red Cross organization not dependent upon the Mother Society in England, and that Australian Red Cross

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contributions should be primarily devoted to Australian sick and wounded. The first Australian Expeditionary Force having reached Egypt, the change was made early in 1915, and the Australian Red Cross started on its own path. At first Dr. (now Sir James) Barrett of Melbourne, who had gone to Egypt with the Australian Army Medical Corps, was asked to act as general supervisor of Australian Red Cross work in Egypt, under a committee appointed and presided over by the British High Commissioner in Egypt, Sir Henry Macmahon. This arrangement lasted for a few months, when two commissioners were appointed to take charge of the work, Mr. Adrian Knox, K.C., of Sydney, and Mr. Norman Brookes, of Melbourne. These two gentlemen supervised the work in Egypt, where they landed from Australia early in August 1915, a year after the beginning of the war, and in the Mediterranean. After some months Mr. Knox was obliged to resign and return to Australia, being replaced by Colonel Murdoch; in April 1916 Mr. Brookes and Colonel Murdoch went to London; subsequently a third commissioner, Mr. F. Fairbairn, was appointed, and upon the resignation of Messrs. Brookes and Fairbairn at the beginning of 1917, Colonel Murdoch was left in sole charge of the London Office. For many months there was a constant stream of criticism, sometimes ill-informed, in regard to the organization and the management, but, inasmuch as it had been improvised without previous experience of the kind, it is matter for congratulation that more mistakes were not made, and that the work was, on the whole, so efficiently done before, later in the war, a thorough system had been evolved. At the beginning the hospitals in Egypt were the main scene of Australian Red Cross work, but from 1916 onwards, after the evacuation of Gallipoli and the transfer of the main Australian Expeditionary Force to France, the hospitals in the United Kingdom and France took the first place, though Egypt remained the hospital base for the mounted troops serving in the Sinai Peninsula and in Palestine.

It is interesting to note how the evolution of the Australian Red Cross illustrated the growing nationhood of the self-governing Dominions during and because of the war. Starting as an integral part of the Home Society, on no other footing than that of a local branch in the United Kingdom, it soon answered to public opinion in Australia by becoming a distinct

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national branch, primarily concerned with Australian fighting men, and, while the Second Annual Report for 1915–16 is headed *The British Red Cross Society. Australian Branch*, succeeding Reports are headed, *The Australian Red Cross Society (B.R.C.S.)*. The link remained, it was still a branch of the British Red Cross Society, but the Australian domicile was—most rightly—emphasized, and as a National society the Australian Red Cross joined the International League of Red Cross Societies. The Report for 1915–16 states that 'The constitution of the Australian Branch, British Red Cross Society, came into force in January 1916'.[1] It was then matured, though subsequent additions and modifications were necessarily made to meet work which grew in amount and in diversity year by year. In Australia there was a Central Council; and the main committee was a Finance Committee, which acted as the Executive Committee. Lady Helen Munro-Ferguson presided over both, and the head-quarters were the Federal Government House at Melbourne. The Hon. Secretary was Dr. Edith Barrett, C.B.E., the Hon. Treasurer Sir Edward Miller, K.C., and the capable secretary from first to last was Miss P. Robertson.

At the request of the Council a London Committee was formed in August 1915, under the presidency of the then High Commissioner, the late Sir George Reid, but the committee only continued in existence till the end of April 1916, when it handed over its duties to the newly arrived Commissioners, Mr. Brookes and Colonel Murdoch. A Finance Committee, however, was then formed, over which the new High Commissioner, Mr. Andrew Fisher, presided; and as in Australia, so in England, there were various auxiliary committees or sub-committees, among them an Advisory Ladies Committee, of which Lady Mitchell, appointed an Assistant Commissioner, was Chairman, a Home Hospitals Committee, in charge of which Mrs. Sargood succeeded Lady Mitchell, an Inquiry Bureau and a Prisoners of War Department, in connexion with which respectively Miss Deakin and Miss Chomley did admirable work, and an Entertainments' Committee headed by Mrs. Hood. The head-quarters in London were at first at 54 Victoria Street, Westminster, and in the later part of the war at 36 Grosvenor Place. From the beginning of 1917,

[1] p. 28.

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as has been stated, Colonel Murdoch was Chief Commissioner for England, while Colonel Hayward filled the same position in France, each of them having the help of Assistant Commissioners. Colonel Hayward had previously been in charge in Egypt, and here Majors Elsworthy, Edginton, and Preston acted in succession as Assistant Commissioner. Shortly before the war ended, Colonel Murdoch returned to Australia, Colonel Hayward replaced him in London, and there were various other changes in personnel. Egypt continued to the end to be an important base of the Australian Red Cross, and in addition to a Commissioner or Assistant Commissioner was provided with a Finance Committee. The Society had also representatives at one time or another or all the time at many other points, at Malta in the earlier part of the war, at Capetown and Colombo, great ports of call for Australian soldiers, at Bombay, important as a forwarding station for Red Cross Stores, and in a number of other places.

Everywhere the Red Cross tended to extend its activities beyond what is strictly Red Cross work, viz. supplementing the Army Medical Corps in care of the sick and wounded, and this was peculiarly the case with the Australian Red Cross. They provided comforts for the sick, they ministered to the Australian Army Nursing Corps; they took sole charge of Australian Prisoners of War in Germany and Turkey, keeping them supplied with parcels of food and clothing; they supplemented the work of the A.I.F. Records Offices in answering inquiries for the wounded and missing. The Inquiry Bureau in London has been mentioned, but there was also a similar bureau in each of the six States of the Commonwealth, for which members of the legal profession made themselves responsible, the first bureau being opened in Sydney in September 1915. The V.A.D.'s, whose membership in New South Wales alone reached a total of 3,500, worked under the Red Cross, almost entirely in Australia, though 36 crossed the sea for service, of whom two died on duty; and from Australian Red Cross funds not only the parent society but various other organizations also received substantial grants.

Money for the Australian Red Cross was derived from two sources, the 'Australia Day' collections, which were devoted to Australian soldiers only, though not, in some of the States, to Red Cross only, and the Red Cross General Funds, which

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were not confined to sick and wounded Australians alone. There were also special 'Our Day' collections for the parent society, but they were not as a rule largely supported, the money being needed for the Australian Red Cross. Victoria, however, in 1917, sent no less than £125,000 to the British Red Cross Society, and the list of South Australian War Funds includes over £256,000 for the British Red Cross, not discriminating between the parent society and the Australian Branch. The report of the Australian Red Cross for 1918–19, the fifth and last Report,[1] gives the following totals:

1914–19[2]

Money remitted to the Commissioners, England, Egypt, and Capetown, including special donations for Prisoners of War	£979,007
Money expended in providing in Australia for Sanatoriums, Rest Homes, Invalid Equipment, &c.	£465,746
Money donated for and remitted to Parent Society	£253,920
Money donated for and remitted to Allied Societies	£64,530

1915–19

Value of goods exported to Commissioners abroad	£1,266,731
Value of goods supplied to military Hospitals in Australia	£462,697
Value of goods supplied to Transports for use of Sick and Wounded	£103,905

If these two lists are exclusive of each other, they show that the sum subscribed for Red Cross purposes in Australia was well over £3½ millions. In an earlier report[3] we are told that it was decided to apportion the expenditure for money or goods sent overseas to the contributions from the different States in the following proportions:

	%
New South Wales	40
Victoria	30
Queensland	10
South Australia	10
Tasmania	5
Western Australia	5

This may be taken as an index of the contributions. The smallest State, Tasmania, whose war charities were divided

[1] p. 6.

[2] Sums given for special purposes and expended on the same are not included in the totals.

[3] For 1915–16, p. 28.

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into Northern Funds centred at Launceston, and Southern Funds centred at Hobart, seems in all to have raised for Red Cross purposes, including the French Red Cross, well over £160,000; in the richest and most populous State, the New South Wales division of the Red Cross raised £1,384,000. In Queensland, from first to last, the total Red Cross collections amounted to £420,000 in cash, £300,000 in kind. The few citizens of the Northern Territory did well in contributing £13,000. The contributions to Australian, British, and French Red Cross, taken together, formed a very large item in the ample list of Australian War Charities, but it must be repeated that it is most difficult to differentiate between the funds, as both the monies and the uses to which they were applied constantly overlapped.

Connected with the Red Cross, and also with Repatriation, were the Amelioration Committees formed in New South Wales and Victoria, and composed of representatives of the Red Cross and the State War Councils. In New South Wales over £415,000 were supplied to the Amelioration Committee, first formed in November 1915. Its main object was to assure to every soldier an income beyond reach of want, and it supplemented Red Cross work by assisting those who left the hospitals with money while looking for work and with loans for starting on work, providing also artificial limbs for crippled soldiers. 'Australia Day' chiefly provided its funds, and before the end of 1917 over 9,000 cases had been dealt with, and over £132,000 expended, but its work, like that of many other agencies, was mainly done before the Commonwealth Repatriation Department took over entire responsibility for the returned soldier.

The value and variety of women's work may be illustrated, in one of very many directions, by the activity of the Australian Women's Service Corps, which helped to clear land for returned soldiers. The Federal Government House, the State Government Houses, the town halls in the great cities, were all centres for women's committees, presided over by Governors' wives and mayoresses. It will be remembered that in Australia and New Zealand alone, within the Empire, when the war came, was there adult franchise for women as well as men—a stimulus, if stimulus was needed, to Australasian womanhood to prove their title to citizenship by effort in the war. The im-

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mense distance of the Pacific Dominions from the main battle-fields meant added strain to wives and mothers in the southern seas, seeing that, to quote the words of a Sydney newspaper, 'the cables and the censors were apt to deal crudely and sensationally with isolated and relatively unimportant events,' but courage and constancy were never wanting. Constancy in abundance there was, and comradeship, but much more also. Well did Lady Helen Munro-Ferguson (now Lady Novar) conclude the last Report on the Red Cross war work with 'a tribute to the women of Australia, thanks to whose persistent industry, power of organization, and generosity success has been achieved'.[1]

There are two points which perhaps should not be omitted in this brief appreciation of Australia during the war. The first is the loyalty with which this democratic people, in normal times so impatient of restraint, and its democratic Press, accepted from the outset a very stringent censorship. The second is the impetus given to Australian manufactures by the growing disabilities to which imports were subjected during the war. It is stated that Australian boots were sent in numbers to Russia via Vladivostock, and though in Australia, as elsewhere, much of what was created by the war died off with the return of peace, the Commonwealth has retained in permanence not a few of the new industries which the war brought to birth.

[1] Report for 1918-19, p. 26.

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SECTION II

THE AUSTRALIAN FORCES IN THE WAR

BY

C. E. W. BEAN AND OTHER WRITERS

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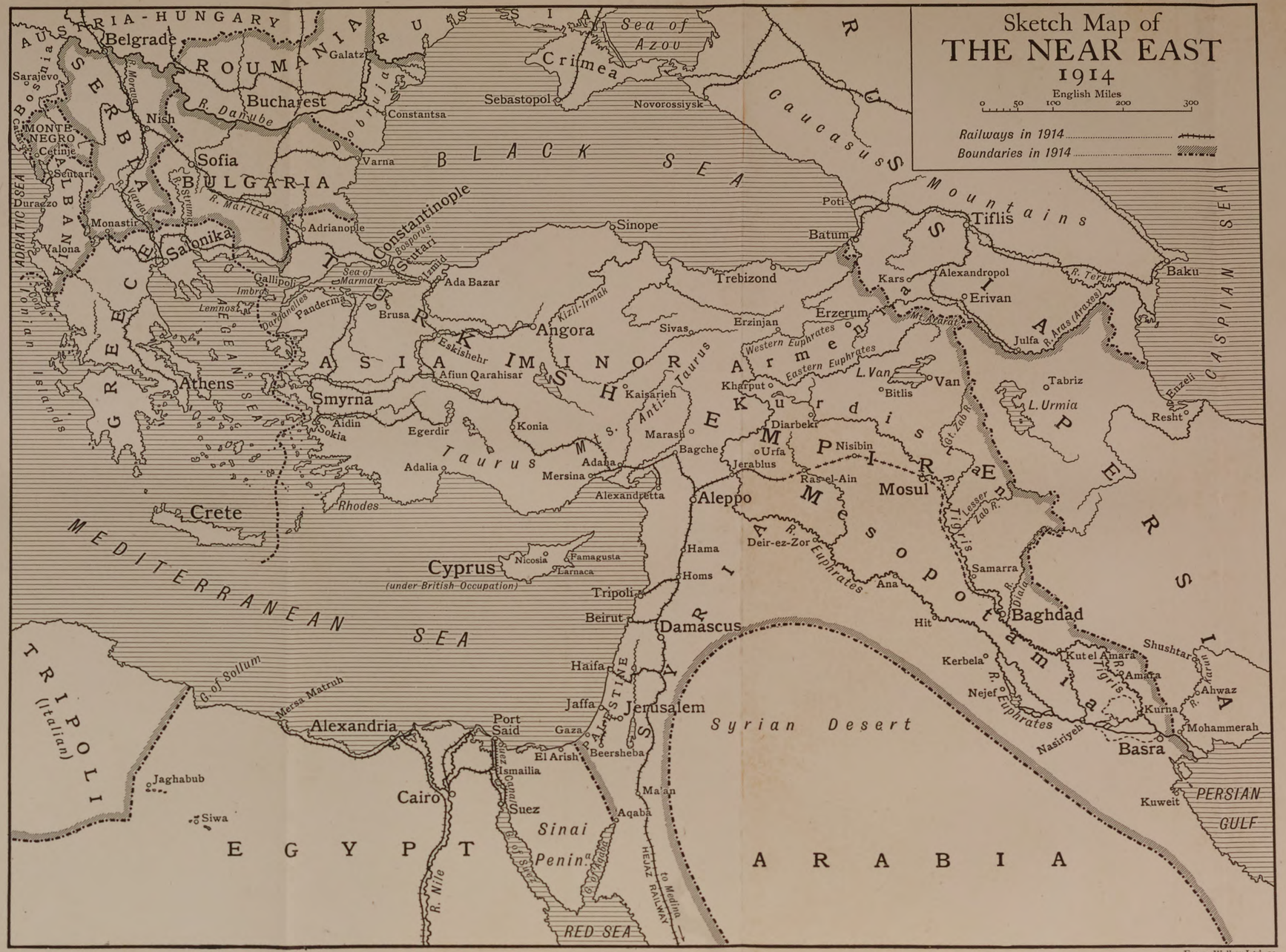

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CHAPTER I

THE AUSTRALIAN IMPERIAL FORCE

In 1914, when the war came to pass, the Australian forces consisted of a home-service army raised almost entirely by compulsory enlistment; and a Navy comprising a 'fleet unit' organized according to the arrangement between Britain, Australia, and other portions of the Empire. The Navy was a regular one, with a small naval militia as its main reserve; the Army, apart from a small regular staff and a nucleus of artillery and engineers, received a training somewhat similar to that of the British Territorials. The Australian mounted troops, although perfect horsemen, were trained as mounted infantry, not as cavalry, and did not therefore carry sword or lance.

On the 3rd August, the day before war was actually declared, but when it appeared almost inevitable, the Australian Cabinet, summoned by the Prime Minister, Joseph Cook, met in Melbourne and decided to offer to the British Government the unreserved use of the ships and men of the Australian Navy, and an expeditionary force of 20,000 men to serve where required. The offer was accepted. The Fleet passed under the direct control of the Admiralty; and after some negotiation it was decided that the Expeditionary Force should take the form of an infantry division and a brigade of Light Horse. The Australian Staff was anxious that this force should sail within six weeks, and, as the plan recommended by Lord Kitchener for the organization of the Australian military forces had only lately been adopted, and the regiments consisted almost entirely of young men of 19 and 20, it was not possible to adapt the scheme in any way to the raising of a force for overseas service. For that purpose an entirely new army had to be created, the command of which was given to the Inspector-General of the Australian Forces, Maj.-General William Throsby Bridges, C.M.G. To the new army which he organized and personally led he gave the name of the Australian Imperial Force.

General Bridges had only taken over the duties of Inspector-

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General two or three months before the war, having previously been in charge of the military college at Duntroon. He was, when the war came, 53 years of age, and had joined the New South Wales Artillery as far back as 1885. He had seen active service in the South African War, had studied his profession keenly and thoroughly, had represented Australia on the Imperial General Staff in London, and was a trained soldier of rare promise. He was summed up by General Birdwood as 'the most gallant of soldiers and best of commanders'. For the chief of his staff he chose a young Australian officer who at the outbreak of war was acting as chief of the general staff of the Commonwealth Forces, Major C. B. B. White. White was the first Australian officer to be trained at the British Staff College under the system introduced shortly after the South African War, whereby a course at that college was thrown open to a certain number of officers from the Dominions. He had assisted Bridges and Brig.-Gen. J. M. Gordon in drawing up a Defence Scheme for the Commonwealth in accordance with the suggestions of the Committee of Imperial Defence, and had also obtained leave to study the problem of the organization of an Australian Expeditionary Force, should such an organization ever be needed. At the outbreak of war his were the only plans for such a force which were in existence; and it was largely upon them that the organization of the Australian Imperial Force was based.

As it seemed from the first probable that further contingents from Australia might be required, the Light Horse Brigade and the Infantry Division, of which the Australian Imperial Force at first consisted, were named in each case the 'First'. The 1st Australian Division consisted of three infantry brigades raised in the various States of Australia. The 1st Brigade was entirely drawn from New South Wales, and its command was entrusted to Colonel H. N. Maclaurin, son of the Chancellor of Sydney University. The 2nd was similarly recruited in Victoria, and was commanded by a Victorian barrister, Colonel J. W. McCay. The 3rd Infantry Brigade was placed in charge of a British Regular officer, with Australian experience, Lieut.-Col. Sinclair MacLagan. It was drawn from the four less populous States of the Commonwealth. It consisted of the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th Australian Infantry Battalions, of which the 9th was recruited in Queensland and

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the Northern Rivers of New South Wales; the 10th was raised in South Australia; the 11th in Western Australia; and the 12th—two companies in Tasmania and the other two in South and Western Australia. Similarly in the 1st Australian Light Horse Brigade, the command of which was given to Colonel Harry Chauvel, then in England as Australian representative on the Imperial General Staff, the 1st Regiment was recruited in New South Wales, the 2nd in Queensland and the Northern Rivers, and the 3rd in South Australia and Tasmania. The single mounted regiment which was attached to the 1st Australian Division, the 4th Light Horse regiment, was raised in Victoria. When further contingents in the shape of divisions or brigades of infantry or Light Horse were raised during the course of the war, either in Australia or from reinforcements in Egypt, they were constituted on the same principle, the normal organization of an Australian infantry division in this war being one brigade from New South Wales, one from Victoria, and one from the other four States.

The infant battalions and regiments of the Australian Imperial Force were officered almost entirely by men who had received some training as officers in the old Australian militia force which had preceded the new Commonwealth Army organized upon Lord Kitchener's scheme. The staff was drawn mainly from the Commonwealth permanent forces—either from the permanent Australian artillery or engineers, or from the administrative and instructional staff. A certain percentage of ex-officers of the British Army, and of old soldiers who had emigrated from Britain, was scattered through the force, and many of the newly arrived emigrants joined in the first rush to enlist. But 73 per cent. of the men and a larger percentage of the officers had been born in Australia, and of the remainder many had long since settled there. For the staff of each infantry battalion or Light Horse regiment there were usually allotted three or four non-commissioned or warrant officers of the permanent forces to act as regimental sergeant-major, quartermaster-sergeant, sergeant of signallers and sergeant of machine guns, and the adjutant of the original regiments was as far as possible, a permanent officer or an 'area officer' (one who under Lord Kitchener's scheme was in charge of a local military area). The Australian Military College at Duntroon, founded under the Kitchener scheme, had only

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been in existence for four years, and the first cadets to be trained there were just finishing the last year of their course. Bridges, who had founded the college, and had been its first commandant, asked that those who had entered the college in its first year should come with him as officers; and, in order to gain regimental experience, they entered the Australian Imperial Force as regimental not as staff officers. The second year cadets afterwards sailed as regimental officers in the second contingent, although they had completed only three years of their training. During the remainder of the war every Duntroon cadet who was qualified to go to the front went there. Serving regimentally, as they did in the first place, nearly a fourth of these boys were killed and a third wounded.

The Australian Imperial Force was offered to the Imperial Government on the 3rd August, and recruiting was opened on the 10th of that month. Its organizers were anxious that the Australians should be on the Western Front, exerting what power they could in the cause of the Allies, at the earliest possible moment, and Bridges intended in the first instance to have the 1st Australian Division and 1st Light Horse Brigade ready to sail by the 12th September. The large steamers, both cargo and passenger boats, which happened to be in Australian ports, were chartered by the Commonwealth and hurriedly equipped as transports by the Australian naval authorities. The Quartermaster-General's branch of the Australian Army worked night and day at its herculean task of equipping the 20,000 officers and men of the Expeditionary Force with clothing on a European scale and with weapons, accoutrements, wagons, water-carts, and animals. By the end of September not only were the regiments, battalions, and batteries of the first contingent ready organized for sailing, but a second contingent, consisting of a 4th Australian Infantry Brigade and a 2nd Light Horse Brigade were already being formed.

But conditions upon the seas prevented the sailing of the first Australian contingent at the date upon which General Bridges had intended that it should leave. The German naval squadron in the Pacific, consisting of the powerful armoured cruisers *Gneisenau* and *Scharnhorst* and several light cruisers, was still at large amongst the Pacific Islands; and the light cruiser *Emden* was as yet uncaught in the Indian Ocean.

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Under such conditions the Admiralty decided that it was unsafe for the transports carrying the Australian troops—to which the New Zealand transports were to be added—to sail unescorted across the Indian Ocean. A strong escort was needed, and two cruisers approximating in strength to the *Gneisenau* and *Scharnhorst* were sent from Chinese waters to accompany the Australian and New Zealand convoy from Fremantle. The Admiralty considered that the Australian transports might safely come round the coast as far as Fremantle without escort; and that the New Zealand transports should sail across the Tasman Sea and along the south coast of the continent accompanied by small cruisers.

It was the policy of the Australian and New Zealand Governments to trust to the wisdom of the British Government in all large matters of policy connected with the external conduct of the war; and the decision of the Admiralty to bring the transports unescorted to Fremantle was accepted. But the voyage around the Australian coast, or from New Zealand to Western Australia would occupy, in the case of many transports, from ten days to a fortnight, and so obvious was the concern of both the Dominion Governments, as reflected in their messages to Great Britain, that the Admiralty deferred to them. The two cruisers were ordered to extend their voyage to New Zealand and return with the New Zealand force. The Australian force was to assemble in King George's Sound in Western Australia, and the escort with the New Zealand transports would join it there. The combined force was then to sail for Britain by way of the Suez Canal.

The sailing was thus postponed for six weeks. During this time the brigadiers were training their troops in the more elementary part of their work. A few transports had already begun to sail round the Australian coast in September, when the movement was stopped. Shortly after the middle of October it was resumed. The Orient liner *Orvieto*, with General Bridges and the staff of the 1st Australian Division, left Melbourne on the 21st October. Before the end of the month the escort—the British cruiser *Minotaur* and the Japanese battle-cruiser *Ibuki*—with the Australian light cruisers *Sydney* and *Melbourne*, had joined the Australian transports in King George's Sound; and on the 1st November the combined convoy left Western Australia for Colombo.

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By this time all danger from the main German squadron in the Pacific had passed away. That squadron was believed to have sailed to South America, and a few days after the Australian convoy had left, news was received of the battle of Coronel off the South American coast in which the German Pacific Squadron had destroyed the British squadron sent to meet it. In the big changes and concentrations of cruisers and cruiser squadrons which followed this battle the *Minotaur* was ordered to leave the Australasian convoy. Only the light cruisers *Emden* and *Königsberg*—both of which were believed to be in the Indian Ocean—could now possibly endanger the convoy's safety; and with them the *Ibuki*, *Sydney*, and *Melbourne* were more than sufficient to cope.

It was always held probable that the *Emden* might be met with at the Cocos Islands, which contain an important cable station half-way between Ceylon and Australia. For that reason the course had been laid so as to pass some fifty miles to the east of the islands instead of within sight of them, and special precautions were taken when nearing the group. At 6 a.m. on the 9th November the convoy, 38 transports in all with three escorting cruisers, passed the nearest point to the islands; very shortly afterwards an S.O.S. call was received from the signal station, then a little over 50 miles away, reporting that a strange cruiser was in the offing; the *Sydney*, which was on the port beam of the convoy was at once dispatched; and the fight to which reference is made later[1] took place out of sight of the transports. Only in a few of the ships was the sound of gunfire heard, but by wireless messages from the *Sydney*, before midday every man in the fleet knew that the *Emden* was beached and done for. Before the convoy reached Colombo, the *Sydney* passed it, carrying the survivors of the *Emden's* crew, many of them terribly wounded, and, by the special request of the *Sydney's* officers and men, as the victorious cruiser passed some of the Australian and New Zealand transports going into Colombo harbour, there was no demonstration or cheering which might distress the *Emden's* wounded lying on the Australian cruiser's decks.

When the Australasian convoy had left Aden and was approaching Suez, an order was received, all-important in deciding the

[1] See below, chap. XIII, p. 212. A full account of the fight will be given in connexion with the Cocos Islands, in vol. v.

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GENERAL BIRDWOOD

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activities of the Australian troops during the earlier part of the war. The intention had been to train the Australian, like the Canadian contingent, in England on Salisbury Plain. But shortage of workers and material in Britain made it impossible to cope with the demand for hutments in which to house the troops during the coming winter. The conditions under which the Canadians were encamped were excedingly miserable, making work almost impossible and endangering the discipline of the force, and it became certain that provision could not be made for the Australians in time for their arrival. Accordingly, on the suggestion of Sir George Reid, then High Commissioner for Australia in London, who knew the danger of exposing the new Australian troops to these conditions, Lord Kitchener at the eleventh hour ordered that the Australian and New Zealand contingents should disembark and train in Egypt, and from Egypt go direct to the front. Camps were hurriedly prepared on the edges of the desert and of the Nile Valley near Cairo ; and there for the next four months, in the clear winter climate of Egypt upon the sand of the desert, at Mena under the very shadow of the Pyramids, at Heliopolis, Zeitoun, and Maadi, the Australians and New Zealanders trained. The training was exceedingly strenuous. Before the end of it two more contingents of infantry and Light Horse had arrived, and the whole were formed into an Army Corps of somewhat irregular composition. For commander of the Corps Lord Kitchener chose Major-Gen. W. R. Birdwood, a British officer who had served on his own staff in several capacities since the South African War. Birdwood brought with him from India a certain number of officers to form the Army Corps staff, the chief of staff being Brig.-Gen. H. B. Walker, who later commanded the 1st Australian Division.

The Australian and New Zealand Army Corps, which was the title given to Birdwood's command, consisted of two divisions. The 1st Australian Division under Major-Gen. W. T. Bridges was complete in every respect according to the regular establishment of a British division, except that it possessed only about half of the normal artillery. The New Zealand and Australian Division was commanded by Major-Gen. Sir A. Godley, a British officer, with a New Zealand staff. Godley's division had only two infantry brigades—the New Zealand Infantry, and the 4th Australian (which had arrived in Egypt

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with the second Australian contingent), whose commander was Colonel John Monash. But the absence of a third infantry brigade was compensated for by allotting to this division two brigades of mounted troops, the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade, and the 1st Australian Light Horse Brigade. The division was very short of artillery, having less than one-third of the normal number of guns.

The natural desire of all these troops was to serve with the British Army on the Western Front. But, as the winter of 1914–15 went on, it became increasingly certain that the exigencies of the war would necessitate their employment in the theatre in which, by little more than a chance, they had been disembarked. The Turkish attack on the Suez Canal at the end of January and beginning of February 1915 caused a movement of certain New Zealand and Australian units temporarily to the Canal, where a few of the New Zealanders took part in the fighting; and when the British Government determined to answer Russia's call for help by attempting to force the Dardanelles, when, moreover, the endeavour to do so by means of the Navy alone had failed, it was realized by the Australians that they would probably form part of any land force detailed to support the Navy.

The main naval attack upon the Dardanelles was made on the 18th March 1915. Before this date it was realized by the British Government that a considerable land force would be necessary, if only to follow up the Navy's work, to occupy the Gallipoli Peninsula when the Fleet had passed it, and possibly to garrison Constantinople. The French had agreed to contribute towards this force, the British Government had sent out Sir Ian Hamilton to act as Commander-in-Chief of the combined British and French expedition, and he was present during the last stage of the action on the 18th March. A few days later, at a conference held with Admiral de Robeck and General Birdwood, it was decided that the role of the Army must be very different from what had originally been proposed, and that the hazardous operation of a landing in force must be undertaken. It should be mentioned that the 3rd Australian Infantry Brigade had reached the island of Lemnos from Egypt early in March, before the unsuccessful naval action of the 18th of that month, being intended to form a small striking force in case the Navy should need one incidental to its plan of action.

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Hamilton considered that the operation in which the Navy could best assist him with its guns (as was intended) was a landing at the extreme point or toe of the Peninsula. The beaches, however, were too restricted to allow him to disembark his whole force at one place and time. He accordingly decided to make his most serious attack with the 29th Division, composed mainly of Regulars withdrawn from India before the end of 1914 upon relief by Territorials, from Cape Helles northwards towards Achi Baba and the Kilid Bahr Plateau; and at the same time to fling a powerful force ashore near Gaba Tepe on the outer coast of the Peninsula exactly opposite the Narrows. This blow struck so near to the heart of the Dardanelles fortress would at the least be a very formidable diversion, and if the troops succeeded in reaching the summit of the hill mass—Koja Chemen Tepe—which there overlooked both shores of the Peninsula, Turkish land communication with its southern end would possibly be cut and a long step taken towards achieving the object of the expedition.

This attack on Gaba Tepe was allotted to the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps under General Birdwood. During the first two weeks in April the 3rd Australian Brigade was joined at Lemnos by the remainder of General Birdwood's Corps. By the middle of the month the whole of the great expedition, British, Anzac, and French, was concentrated in its transports in the fine enclosed harbour of Mudros in the island of Lemnos, which, with the consent of the Greek Premier, Venizelos, the British had obtained as their base. The plan of operations was completed and distributed. The landing, which was to have taken place on the 23rd April, was postponed for two days owing to the strength of the wind. This moderated on the 23rd, and on that day and the next the transports began to move quietly to the stations off Lemnos and Tenedos, from which they were to descend upon the Peninsula. On the afternoon and evening of the 24th, at such hours as would allow of approaching the coast during the darkness and landing at dawn, the expedition against Gallipoli sailed.

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CHAPTER II

THE LANDING AT ANZAC

THE beach upon which it was intended that the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps should land was about a mile north of the fortified promontory of Gaba Tepe. From that cape a belt of comparatively level and open country stretched across the Peninsula to the Greek village of Maidos on the shore of the Narrows. South of this lowland lay the abrupt difficult plateau of Kilid Bahr, protecting the forts and defences of the Narrows. North of it rose the higher and more broken hill mass of Koja Chemen Tepe, whose ridges ran like the points of a star fish from the rounded summit near the northern end of the range. This summit was marked on the very imperfect map issued to the troops as being 971 ft. in height, and became generally known as Hill 971. One arm of the range extended south-westwards until it ended abruptly in cliffs and steep hill-sides upon the coast two and a half miles north of Gaba Tepe. Part of the face of these hills, where they abutted on to the sea, had been broken away into sheer gravel cliffs and almost equally precipitous landslides. During all the reconnaissances this part of the coast had impressed those who saw it as impossible to attack. But to General Birdwood it seemed likely that, after the first troops had made good a landing in the easier country farther south the later shiploads might find in this broken terrain a most useful shelter against the heavy shell-fire which he felt certain would follow the first assault.

Birdwood had asked Hamilton to allow him to deviate from the original plan by making the assault without any preliminary bombardment. He proposed to rely rather upon the surprise and terror caused by the first rush of his covering force, than upon the shattering of the Turkish morale by the ships' guns. The hour for the Gaba Tepe landing was therefore fixed earlier than that of the attack at Cape Helles, where bombardment was to precede assault. As soon as the moon sank, three battleships and seven destroyers carrying the 3rd Australian Brigade, which was to land first as a covering force to the rest of the Corps, moved quietly in towards the shore on which

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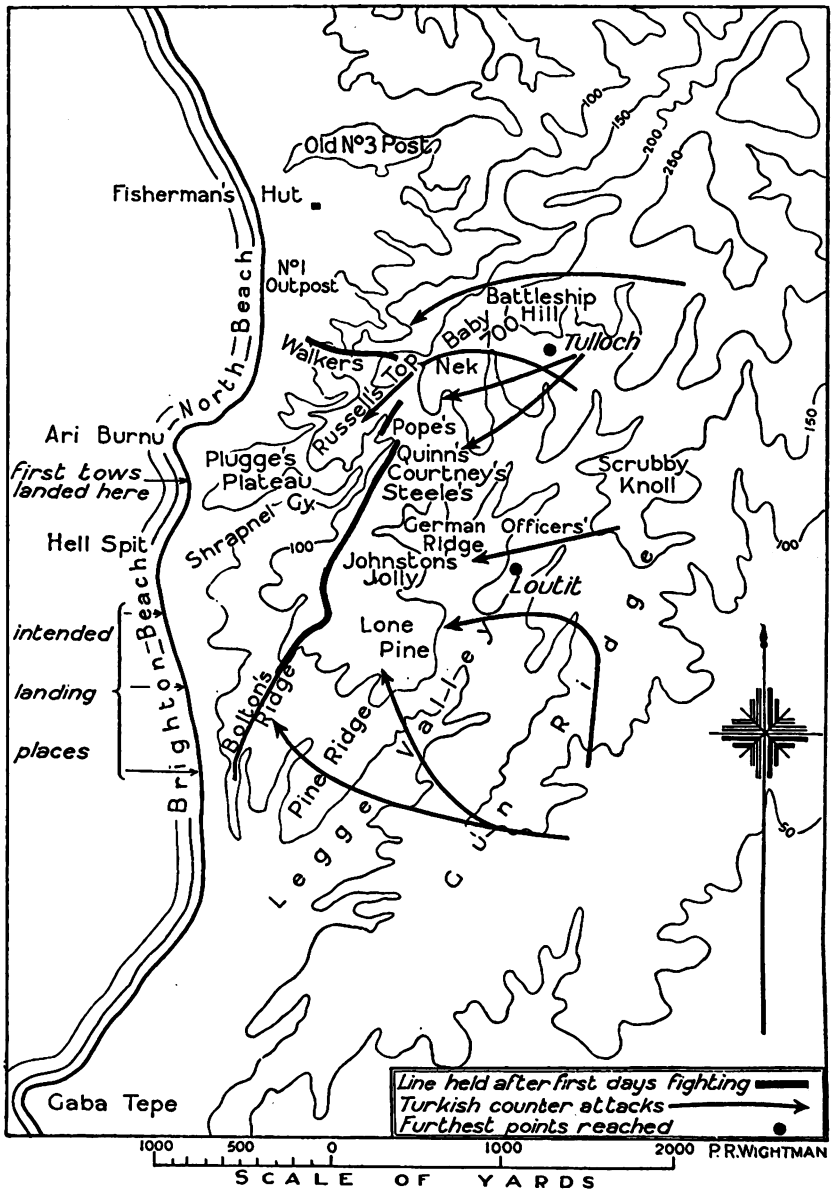

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it was to disembark. There was an hour between the set of the moon and the first light of dawn. The battleships had transferred their troops into rowing boats which they were towing alongside, and at several miles distance from the shore, the order was given to the small steamboats, of which there was one at the head of every three rowing boats, to go ahead with their tows and land. The boats cast off, and the twelve small tows, each of a steamboat and three rowing boats, headed for the shore which could presently be seen lying dark in front. The seven destroyers carrying the remaining troops of the covering brigade followed about twenty minutes later. Behind them all in the dark were slowly arriving, mostly in groups of four at a time, the transports which brought the remainder of the Corps.

The land was very close before the boats were discovered. Where they reached it, the shore rose strangely high—not at all resembling the beach which had been described to the officers and upon which the plans were based. Two knolls (the more northerly of which was Ari Burnu) with a high narrow summit behind them rising to 300 ft. high and later known as Plugge's Plateau, towered above the boats, and, as the first pinnaces cast off their tows and the foremost craft were being rowed over the remaining hundred yards to the beach, a rifle shot rang out from the hill above, quickly followed by a growing fusillade of musketry with at least one machine gun. The heavily laden boats grated on the shingle, some of them still in water 4 ft. deep. The troops jumped out and waded ashore. Bullets were striking sparks from the stones as they ran across the strand to the shelter of a low bank which fringed it. After a minute or two in which to fix bayonets, drop the heavy packs, and gain some sort of crude formation, the line of the 3rd Brigade, roughly some six companies strong, made up the hill. A heavy fire was coming from the summit. A fair number of men and several officers were hit. Scattered Turks fled up the height before them. The slope was so steep that it was all an active man could do to lever himself up, hauling on to the roots of the scrub or propping himself with his rifle. But within ten or fifteen minutes of the landing the leaders were reaching the top of the hill. The last Turks lining the trench on its edge fled across the small plateau on the summit, fired for some minutes from its further edge and then dived down

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the steep valley beyond and made their way through the scrub back towards the further ridges of the range.

The light was now growing and it quickly became apparent to the Australian officers that the naval tows had veered to the northward in the dark and had landed the force at a point a mile north of the intended position. The scene of disembarkation was, in fact, exactly the abrupt broken country which had previously impressed every one as being impossible ground for a landing. Colonel Sinclair Maclagan, the commander of the covering force, who arrived with the troops from the seven destroyers almost immediately after the tows from the battleships, had realized the mistake before he landed. By the time when he reached the top of Plugge's Plateau and established his head-quarters there, a considerable number of his men had already pushed forward under their officers towards the further ridges which they had for weeks past been told that they were at all costs to reach. But Maclagan was deeply apprehensive that, as the position of the force was a mile too far to the north, the southern spurs which it had been intended to seize and hold as a defence to the right or southern flank would be left open to the enemy. He therefore determined that, as soon as the first troops of the 2nd Brigade, which was to follow the 3rd, came ashore, he would ask their commander to swing them on to the right flank of the 3rd. With the consent of Colonel McCay, the commander of the 2nd Brigade, this was done. The whole plan of operations for the Gaba Tepe landing was thus from the early hours completely countermanded, and during the remainder of the battle the troops and regimental officers had to fight upon such instructions regarding the modified plans as came through to them, and more often than not guided only by their own sense as to the need of the moment. The conditions would have been trying enough for highly trained and long-seasoned troops, but it was specially hard upon the Australians that on their first venture in battle, the task assigned to inexperienced soldiers should have been made infinitely more difficult by altered plans and absence of precise directions.

While this sweeping change was taking place the leading troops of the 3rd Brigade had pushed far ahead towards such of their objectives as they recognized. The 10th Battalion was to seize certain guns believed to be behind an outstanding

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plateau in the second ridge from the beach. This upland was 400 feet high and was generally known as the 400 Plateau. Both the 9th and 10th Battalions made towards it, very much split up in the scrub and by the steepness of the hillsides. As the first troops of the 10th came out upon the height, a battery of Turkish guns was seen half-way across it being hurried to the rear. A few minutes later a platoon of the 9th came upon this battery in a hollow of the plateau defended by several machine guns. The guns were rushed, the machine guns were withdrawn, and for the moment Turkish opposition to the advance was overcome.

A few parties pushed still farther inland, and some men under Lieutenants Loutit and Haig of the 10th Battalion, later joined by Captain Ryder with some of the 9th, reached the third ridge, which it was the object of the first operation to seize and hold. From the high point in this ridge, known as Scrubby Knoll, Loutit with two others looked out upon the waters of the Narrows, but at this point heavy opposition was encountered from Turks who were already on the further ridges when the leading Australians arrived, and who were being reinforced from Maidos. Accordingly, when the main body of the 9th and 10th Battalions came out upon the 400 Plateau (in the second ridge) very scattered and disorganized, they were ordered to reform there with a view to continuing the advance when the 2nd Brigade came up.

While the 9th and 10th were advancing due east or south-east towards their objectives, on their left the 11th Battalion and half of the 12th were making towards the points which it had been intended that the covering force should attain in the direction of Hill 971. It had been planned that the 11th should seize the two nearer summits of the main range—each of them 700 feet in height, and known eventually as Baby 700 (the lower and nearer) and Battleship Hill. Just beyond Battleship Hill was the top of Chunuk Bair, the central summit of the range, and at least equal in importance to the final summit of 971 itself. The most northerly companies of the 11th and 12th made their way up the precipitous weather-worn gravel cliffs previously mentioned—the cliffs near the rugged sheer formation known as the Sphinx, and the precarious goat-tracks of Walker's Ridge—to a narrow height which was connected with the first summit, Baby 700, by a slender saddle

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or nek. Colonel Clarke, commanding the 12th, was killed almost immediately after reaching this height (Russell's Top). But the leading officer of the 11th, Captain Tulloch, made forward with a mixed party of the 11th and 12th, crossed the inland slopes of Baby 700, and, rapidly driving back the Turks, reached the further slopes of Battleship Hill. Behind him, at the saddle or nek leading to Baby 700 (known afterwards as the Nek), Captain Lalor of the 12th held a position guarding his left rear, and preventing the Turks from working in behind him.

Thus in the first swift rush two small parties of the 3rd Brigade had reached the objective set them by the original plans for the day. The main part of the covering force, having been thoroughly split up by the crossing of tows at the landing and by the exceeding steepness of the country in which by an error the force had been disembarked was, by the orders of its brigadier, reorganizing on the second ridge; while, on the extreme left, part of it was holding the Nek in order to safeguard the rear and flank of the advanced party on Battleship Hill. The intention at this time was that, as soon as the 2nd Brigade landed and came up in support on the right, the advance should be resumed.

But the Turkish reserves were much nearer to the Australian objectives than appears to have been realized. A battalion of the 27th Turkish regiment had been garrisoning the coast at Gaba Tepe and Ari Burnu (the latter being the exact point where the Australians landed); and the two other battalions of the regiment were camped in support not an hour's march distant, in the olive groves west of Maidos. While the main part of Maclagan's covering brigade was still reorganizing on the second ridge, these two battalions were seen moving up the summit of the third, which was the objective of the covering force. The small advanced party under Loutit, Haig, and Ryder, was driven in with heavy loss. The Turks began to advance against the second ridge, and by 10 a.m. the main line of the covering brigade there was heavily attacked. The order was given to advance across the 400 Plateau in small sections to meet this assault, but the fire which now burst from the Turks was exceedingly heavy, and the level summit of the Plateau afforded no cover except in so far as the dense breast-high scrub partially screened the men from sight. Before

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many minutes had passed, the line on the second ridge was so scattered and the enemy's counter-attack was developing so strongly, that Colonel Maclagan gave up all hope of advancing upon the third ridge (Gun Ridge), and ordered the line to dig in upon the second ridge where it had been reorganizing. He could see half a mile to his left flank and rear a struggle in progress upon Baby 700, which appeared likely to be the decisive fight of the day. Baby 700 looked down the valley behind the second ridge; and, if the Turks obtained it, the position upon the second ridge would apparently become untenable. Maclagan therefore turned all his attention henceforth upon the task of hurrying reinforcements up to the troops on Baby 700 behind his left flank.

The details of that struggle will be presently told. The fighting upon the 400 Plateau continued despite Maclagan's orders to dig in upon its rearward edge. The line upon the Plateau was far too deeply committed for these orders to reach more than a fraction of the fighters, and all day long the remnant of those who first landed and the battalions, mainly of the 2nd Brigade, which came up in support, continued their endeavour to carry out their original instructions by reaching the forward edge of the Plateau and even the third ridge. About 11 a.m. one battery of the enemy's mountain guns, and shortly afterwards another, opened fire. The Turks were reinforced by the first troops of the 19th Turkish Division, the whole of which was encamped not four miles from the point reached by the Australians, and throughout the day upon the 400 Plateau there raged one of the most terrible struggles in which Anzac troops were ever to be involved. Four or five times the Australian Infantry, reinforced by the 2nd and part of the 1st Brigades, advanced across the bullet- and shrapnel-swept summit of the Plateau, and fragments of the line held on to advanced positions under the most deadly whirlwind of fire, so that the reinforcing battalions which continually advanced across the summit came upon only the debris of previous lines lying dead and wounded in the dense scrub. The summit, if it was deadly for the Australians, was deadly also for the Turks; and when, towards evening, the Australian line was driven gradually to the rearward end of the Plateau, the enemy, although his counter-attack had been strongly developed, did not follow his adversary across.

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Meanwhile, at the northern end of the position, where part of the 11th and 12th Battalions under Captain Tulloch had reached their objective on the second summit of the main range, Battleship Hill, a counter-attack by the 19th Turkish Division had proved far too strong for the slender advanced parties. Tulloch, entirely isolated, found both his flanks under fire, and was forced to retire in order to avoid being surrounded. He fell back upon Baby 700 (the first summit of the range), where Lalor's troops had been reinforced by parties of the 1st Brigade under Major Scobie and Major Kindon. These combined groups formed a line upon Baby 700 with their flanks upon its seaward and inland spurs. Throughout the morning upon this summit also the fighting was most desperate. Again and again the decimated line, its officers killed or wounded, and its men almost invisible to one another in the scrub, was driven off the crest; and each time, with the arrival of reinforcements, the line went forward again. About midday it was reinforced by part of the Auckland Battalion, the first New Zealanders to enter the fight. These were followed by two companies of the Canterbury battalion under Colonel Stewart.

About this time the Turkish counter-attack began to be most heavily felt upon Baby 700. There was a gap between the right of the Australians on that hill and the left of those upon the second ridge and the 400 Plateau. Into this gap the Turks now penetrated. They were also working along the seaward spurs of the main ridge on to the seaward slope of Baby 700. Several times they were driven back. But, as further troops built up the strength of their firing line, the weight of their assault began to tell upon the exhausted troops on the summit and sides of Baby 700. Increasing fire from both flanks was rapidly killing off the men in the Australian and New Zealand firing line. There were no more reserves ashore to be dispatched to their assistance, for the last of Bridges's reserve battalions, the 4th, had to be put in to fill a gap caused by the fighting on the 400 Plateau. About 4.30 p.m. the Turks began to advance in force upon both flanks of Baby 700. The remnant of the line there broke and retired across the Nek and to the head of the valley behind the second ridge, where it clung on to a series of indentations along the valley's edge. Baby 700 was lost, and the enemy began to

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penetrate even across the Nek on to Russell's Top, in direct rear of the line upon the second ridge. Only darkness and the great disorganization of the Turks prevented them from taking advantage of a position most dangerous for the Australians and New Zealanders.

At nightfall the situation of the land force appeared highly precarious. Faced by the confusion of the fighting on land and in ignorance of the enemy's exact positions, the ships' artillery had been almost totally unable to give support except against a solitary battery of Turkish guns near Gaba Tepe, whose position could be fairly well located. The 26th Indian Mountain Battery, which for an hour in the middle of the day fired most gallantly from the rearward edge of the 400 Plateau in support of the infantry there, was driven from its position by a whirlwind of shrapnel directed against it early in the afternoon. The Australian line upon the plateau and on the second ridge had to lie out along the summit, unable to stand up and dig owing to the deadly machine-gun fire which swept it, and with Turkish shrapnel incessantly descending upon the men's defenceless backs. The losses were very heavy, estimated up to midnight on the 25th at 2,000, and the strain upon the troops in the absence of artillery support became, as the hours wore on, almost unbearable. Moreover, the Turks had now seized the height of Baby 700, which dominated the whole of the second ridge, and looked at short range straight down the valley along which ran the main line of communication with most of the Australian front.

It was apprehended by all the commanding officers that the Turks would be heavily reinforced during the night, and would deliver at dawn a heavy counter-attack with fresh troops supported by howitzers and other additional artillery. The brigadiers doubted whether their men could stand such an assault. They felt that if it were to be delivered in the German fashion with massed troops, there was imminent danger of the line being broken and disaster following. General Godley, about half of whose division was now ashore, had joined General Bridges on the beach ; and they decided that General Birdwood must be informed of the position as put before them by their brigadiers, and be asked to determine whether the troops should not be withdrawn during the night in order to avoid what might be inevitable disaster in the morning

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Birdwood, who hastened ashore at their request, was at first greatly opposed to any such course. But he, too, was impressed by the reports which came from behind the line, and as he did not know how far the position at the other landing might affect the situation, he finally decided to inform Sir Ian Hamilton how matters stood, and leave the decision to him. His message reached Sir Ian about midnight. Admiral Thursby, who was in command of the squadron supporting the Australian landing, himself carried the letter, and on being referred to stated that the hour was too late for the troops to be evacuated on to the ships that night. Hamilton therefore decided that the Gaba Tepe landing force must hold its ground; his decision reached General Birdwood in the early hours of the morning, and orders were sent out accordingly.

In reality there was no necessity for acute anxiety as to the power of the Australian and New Zealand troops to hold their position if attacked in the morning. Although they had been heavily tried during the day, the conditions greatly eased with nightfall. It was then possible to stand up and dig trenches. The spirit of the men revived, and by the morning they were in most parts fairly well entrenched, generally immune to shrapnel fire, and in a position to resist even a heavy attack. Moreover, the Turks were not able to attack them. The whole of their local reserve had already been thrown in, and whatever troops now arrived from the north had in the first place to be hurried towards the toe of the Peninsula to resist the landing of the 29th Division. The 19th Division and the 27th Turkish regiment which had checked the Australian landing were greatly exhausted, and had lost nearly as heavily as the Australians. Except for local attacks, therefore, the enemy were unable to deliver any assault upon General Birdwood's troops on the 26th April, and had it not been for an unfortunate mistake by which the 4th Australian Infantry Battalion, on an incorrect verbal order, advanced across the 400 Plateau, carrying with it neighbouring portions of the Australian line in a useless and expensive attack, the 26th would have been for both sides a fairly quiet day of reorganization. The ships of the supporting squadron, with the super-Dreadnought *Queen Elizabeth* added, carried out a heavy bombardment of the Turkish positions in the morning, more with a view to

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giving moral support to the tired infantry than of effecting any important damage, and their fire during the day broke up an advance of Turkish reinforcements which were trying to build up a line in front of Baby 700. But the Turkish advance, though badly shattered, persisted, the troops making forward by twos and threes until their firing line had been established. During the day the 33rd and 64th Turkish regiments arrived, and the Turkish Commander was able to order a general counter-attack for the morning of the 27th April with the object of driving the Australians into the sea.

But an attack which might have had some chances of success upon the second day of the landing had none upon the third. The Australian and New Zealand Army Corps was by that time well dug in. The small remnants of the firing line which had held on to the various indentations of the second ridge along the eastern edge of Monash Valley,[1] had crystallized into a series of fairly well established posts known as Quinn's, Courtney's, and Steele's. The Turkish attack, which began in the morning, was so badly timed that it is doubtful if either the Australian and New Zealand firing line or the staff realized that a general attack was being delivered. The main attack down the range from the direction of Baby 700 did not develop until the afternoon. Then the Turkish troops, advancing line after line down the bare face of Baby 700 were seen by the warships lying off Anzac Cove; and a short burst of very heavy fire from the ships' guns completely broke the order of the attack. The Turkish infantry, disorganized though they were, continued to press during the afternoon and throughout the night. But the counter-attack was a complete failure. At the end of it the lines remained exactly as they had been on the second day of the landing.

The Australian and New Zealand infantry had now been fighting continuously for three days and two nights. They had almost reached the limit of human endurance. Four battalions of the Royal Naval Division were accordingly landed at Anzac in order to relieve the troops who most needed re-organization; and on the 28th and 29th April they replaced the 3rd and 1st Australian infantry brigades in the right centre of the front.

[1] So called because near the head of the gully, Colonel Monash, as he then was, commanding the 4th Australian Infantry Brigade, made his head-quarters.

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From left to right the line was now held by the New Zealand Infantry Brigade; the 4th Australian Infantry Brigade (in the precarious angle or apex where two gaps in the trench line always existed, near Pope's Hill and Quinn's Post); the Marine and 1st Naval Brigades; and the 2nd Australian Infantry Brigade. The Turks were still in possession of Baby 700 and its spur, Dead Man's Ridge, which looked straight down the main line of the Australian communications in rear of the greater part of the Australian Division's fighting front. It was all important to expel them from this hill and shut them out from the view of the valley (Monash Valley) which they completely commanded. Accordingly an attack was planned for the 1st May.

The main object was to seize Baby 700 and push forward the whole of the left and left centre far enough to deny the Turks all observation of the interior of the Australian position. But, unknown to General Birdwood's staff, the Turkish commander, Mustafa Kemal Bey, had decided to make on the 1st May his third general counter-attack. At dawn the enemy's artillery bombarded the whole of the Anzac line and the beach. The Turkish infantry immediately afterwards advanced upon the 400 Plateau and against the posts at the head of Monash Valley. The line of Marines had been heavily pressed on the previous night, but the Turkish infantry was met in the morning with such a storm of rifle and machine-gun fire from the Marine battalions and the Australian Infantry Brigades that they were unable even to come to close quarters.

General Birdwood, however, thought wise to postpone the attack upon Baby 700 until the following day. On the evening of Sunday, the 2nd May, exactly a week after the landing, the guns of the ships and of the field artillery opened a heavy bombardment upon the Turkish positions at the head of Monash Valley, and upon the slopes of Baby 700, which it was intended to capture. Under cover of this fire the 4th Australian Infantry Brigade marched out from the furthest Anzac posts at the valley's head, and climbing the slopes at the end of the gully rushed the Turkish trenches. But by a miscalculation of the length of time necessary to reach the starting-point (the ways being far more crowded than had been anticipated), the New Zealand Infantry which was to have started with the rest and was to seize the summit of Baby 700,

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did not arrive at the 'jumping-off' position until an hour and a quarter after the attack had begun. Despite heroic attempts to advance, the New Zealanders were unable to make any headway upon Baby 700 or the Nek, and dawn found them and the Australians holding an impossible position along the very edge of the valley, with the Turks still looking down upon them from those two points, and enfilading their left rear. The troops were withdrawn during the day from the positions which they had reached; the attack had failed with heavy loss; and the Turks still held Baby 700, completely commanding the sole avenue up the valley bed to the Australian front line in that sector.

By this time the 1st Australian Division had lost nearly half its infantry and the New Zealand and Australian Division had suffered almost as heavily. Any further attack upon a large scale was out of the question. During the first week the troops had somehow managed to retain their lines even though the enemy looked down upon their left and rear. For the present all that could be done was to hold on to the position as best was possible, and endeavour to keep back the Turks at the valley head where the situation was always precarious. The main effort of the Gallipoli expedition was definitely directed against quite another objective.

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CHAPTER III

THE SECOND PHASE IN GALLIPOLI

Sir Ian Hamilton's plan had been, from the first, to obtain command of the Narrows by an advance from the toe of the Peninsula (where the 29th Division had landed). It had originally been intended to seize within two or three days the height of Achi Baba as a covering position, and from thence to move upon the steep Kilid Bahr Plateau, which immediately covered the Narrows. The Gaba Tepe attack had not succeeded in cutting the enemy's land-communication from north to south, but it had served as a very formidable diversion. Nearly all the available Turkish reserves in the south of the Peninsula had for the moment been rushed to Anzac, and more distant reserves could only gradually reach Cape Helles where the 29th (British) Division had made its magnificent landing. The obvious course, therefore, was to advance as quickly as possible from Cape Helles before Turkish reinforcements arrived in such strength as to make advance impossible. But the difficulties involved in pushing forward from the several landing points at the toe of the Peninsula had been greatly underestimated. At the time when the Australians and New Zealanders were definitely held up on a narrow mountain side above Anzac Cove, the advance of the 29th Division and of the French had on the 28th of April been checked before the distance to Achi Baba peak had been half covered. Nevertheless, the tactical difficulties in the way of a forward movement from Cape Helles appeared less serious than the obstacles to an advance from the much narrower frontage held by Birdwood's Corps, and Hamilton still believed that, with the assistance of the naval artillery (upon which by the intention of War Office and Admiralty alike he was largely to rely), a way could be forced to Achi Baba. Accordingly, on the suggestion of Lord Kitchener, he left Birdwood's Corps at Anzac to hold on as a passive annoyance to the Turks, but borrowed two of his infantry brigades to help in a supreme effort to reach Achi Baba from Helles.

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This effort was launched upon the 6th May by the British and the French. It was continued on the 7th. But, though progress was made, it covered the merest fraction of the distance required. The French, in particular, were held up by a difficult redoubt on the side of the Peninsula overlooking the Straits, and although their assaults when launched succeeded, the Turkish counter-attack threw them back again. On the morning of the 8th May a general attack was launched for the third time, the New Zealand Infantry Brigade acting on this occasion as part of the 29th Division. The New Zealanders, after a fine advance, were caught by machine guns on reaching an open space near one of the pine woods north of a gully leading to Krithia. They lost very heavily and little was achieved.

On that afternoon the 2nd Australian Infantry Brigade, which had been brought from Anzac and temporarily formed part of the Royal Naval Division, was marched round into a support position behind the portion of the British line immediately south of the New Zealanders. The latter had been ordered to renew their attack during the afternoon. But Hamilton, coming ashore, substituted for this plan a general advance by the whole line, with the object of helping the French in one great advance to overcome the obstacle which still held them up on the right. The 2nd Australian Infantry Brigade was ordered to assault immediately south of the New Zealanders.

The notice for this attack was very short. There was barely time to issue the scantiest of orders to the four Australian battalions before they advanced under heavy fire up the long glacis which led towards Krithia south of the Krithia gully. The 2nd Brigade came out into the open more than 500 yards before reaching the existing front line—this being the only possible avenue of approach within the time allowed. The manœuvre was carried out with a parade ground perfection, which was the admiration of all who saw it. The moment the advancing lines reached the open the Turkish artillery burst its shells upon them. They were hidden by the dust whipped up by the shrapnel, but when it cleared the little groups, in artillery formation, were still there and advancing. As the Turkish rifle fire opened they deployed. The eyes of the whole battlefield were upon them. When the front line of the

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British was passed the fire became tremendous, and men fell thickly. But the waves of the 2nd Brigade swept on at a swift pace without an instant's faltering. The last two hundred yards of the advance was made by rushes. Five hundred yards after the front line was passed the losses were so heavy that it became clear that further advance would mean extinction. Both flanks were far ahead of the troops on either side; but the New Zealanders, who were fighting against the same difficulties which faced them in the morning, gradually made their way up to the left Australian flank, while the Royal Naval Division formed a flank for them after dark on their right. The French meanwhile had carried the redoubt which so long had held them.

But the line was still far from Krithia and but half-way to Achi Baba. The great three days' effort had failed. In the remaining seven months of the campaign the front at Helles advanced only 500 yards from the point to which it was carried on this day. The Australian and New Zealand units which had assisted in this advance were relieved during the next fortnight and returned to Anzac. In its short advance the 2nd Australian Infantry Brigade, then only 2,500 strong after the landing, had lost some 1,100 men. The New Zealanders lost almost as heavily.

In spite of the support given by the fire of the ships and a fairly numerous field artillery, the attempt to advance from the toe of the Peninsula had failed, but it remained still the general policy of the campaign. The role of the force at Anzac continued to be merely that of maintaining its position and attempting to divert the Turks, generally by the threat that greater things might at any time be undertaken from Anzac, and particularly by small feints delivered (as on the 4th June and the 28th June) whenever an assault was being made by the British and French at Cape Helles. The Turks still had Baby 700 and Dead Man's Ridge, looking down upon the rear of most of the Australian line, and the Australians still held on to the bare edge of Monash Valley, their front being in many places not more than ten or twelve yards in from the rear slope of the hill. If they were driven back over that short space their position would become untenable.

The mere holding of ground at Anzac therefore involved continual fighting, digging, and sniping at such tension as the

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Australian and New Zealand troops never again experienced in any theatre of the war. At Quinn's Post in particular, where the garrison held about five yards depth of hill crest, and the Turkish trenches were within twenty yards (and in places five yards or even less, separated only by a sandbag barrier), the tension never ended, and the fighting was continuous.

In order, if possible, to improve the position, a series of minor attacks were delivered. Raids were made in the first place on the 2nd and 4th May respectively upon the Turkish observation posts along the coast north and south of Anzac at Cape Nibrunesi and Gaba Tepe respectively. At Nibrunesi the New Zealanders found and destroyed a small Turkish outpost. Gaba Tepe was a Turkish fort, two miles south of Anzac, defended by heavy wire, machine guns and trenches, and a garrison of 150 men. One of the most desperate attempts ever made by Australian troops was launched against it by Captain Leane with about 100 men, landed in the dawn of the 4th May from a destroyer. The attack failed, but the party was successfully taken off again by the Navy after heavy loss. The Turks continued to maintain posts on Nibrunesi and Gaba Tepe, from which they looked into the rear of the Australian base in Anzac Cove and directed fire upon the beach whenever activity there warranted it.

A series of attacks was made by both sides for the capture of the posts at the head of Monash Valley. On the 9th May and again on the 15th Anzac troops assaulted the Turkish trenches confronting Quinn's Post. Each time they took the enemy's works opposite to them, and each time they were driven out by counter-attacks delivered from front and flanks. The Turks still overlooked Monash Valley, and their sniping down it was most deadly. The loss amongst parties moving up and down the gully upon the business of the force amounted on some mornings to as many as thirty men. General Bridges, the commander of the 1st Australian Division, going up this track to visit the posts, was fatally shot by a sniper from Dead Man's Ridge. Sandbag barriers and communication trenches were constructed as fast as was humanly possible. But the defence which eventually stopped the sniping down the valley was the building up of a picked corps of snipers to counter those of the enemy. So accurate

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did the fire of the Australian and New Zealand snipers become that in the course of a few weeks it was possible for the mule train to travel up and down Monash Valley within full view of the Turkish lines but without the Turks daring to fire a shot.

Meanwhile, Essad Pasha, the commander who was now in charge of the force opposing the Australian corps, had been reinforced for the purpose of delivering a final blow against this, the smaller of the two British landing forces, and driving it once and for all from the Peninsula; and on the 19th May a general assault was made upon the whole Anzac line. That this attack was coming had been guessed from several signs—mainly from observation by aeroplane—and the Australians and New Zealanders were completely ready for it. The first lines of Turkish infantry, in the faint light of the early morning, were seen and met with rifle and machine-gun fire so heavy that, although the attack continued spasmodically until 11 a.m., not more than ten Turks reached the Australian trenches. Two or three fell dead on the parapet on the 400 Plateau. Those who entered a trench at Courtney's Post were expelled by Lance-Corporal Albert Jacka, who for this deed was awarded the first Victoria Cross won by an Australian in the war. The Turkish loss was estimated at 10,000, against some 600 Australian casualties, and they had achieved nothing. A few days later, at the wish of both sides, an armistice was arranged in order to bury the 3,000 dead who at this time lay in the narrow ' No Man's Land ' between the trenches.

Thenceforward until the evacuation no general attack was ever again attempted by the enemy at Anzac. Although the position there appeared precarious, and an advance of but a few yards was necessary in order to make it untenable, the Turks had learned that the attempt was not worth making. From this time onward their efforts were directed towards stealing ground by means of mining and sapping, and trying to win the vital posts at the head of Monash Valley by local surprise assaults.

The most important of these minor attacks were made at Quinn's Post and the Nek. On the 29th May a Turkish mine was exploded under Number Three Section of Quinn's, where the opposing works were very close together. The garrison was stunned by the shock and the Turks managed to get about half a platoon of men into this section of trench. Their

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bayonets lining the parapet could be seen from far down the path up Monash Valley. Having gained an entrance, however, they were completely cut off from all further support from their own side, and on being attacked through the trenches on their flanks they surrendered.

In the early morning of the 29th June a more important attack was made against the trenches held by the Australian Light Horse upon Russell's Top, facing the Nek. This position was even more vital than Quinn's, because by advancing their line by 300 yards at this point the Turks would actually have overlooked at point-blank range the beach north of Ari Burnu, and to some extent that south of it, which was the base of the force. The attacking Turks crossed a sap which, unknown to them, the Australian troops had dug near the Nek, and some falling into this, obtained for a moment an unexpected tenancy of one of the defence trenches. But under the rifle and machine-gun fire with which it was met the effort withered, and before the daylight was fully grown, the Light Horse on Russell's Top and Pope's Hill were playing at will with the remnant of the assault.

During these same months—May, June, and July—though no general attack was launched by the Anzac troops, there was some sharp fighting. Several efforts were made to take the Turkish trenches opposing Quinn's Post, where the enemy were too near for the safety of the defence, but a permanent lodgement in the Turkish position could never be retained. In all parts of the line it was found that the most feasible means of enlarging the foothold of the Australian troops upon the crest was by sapping and tunnelling forward, and the digging and tunnelling, which became the daily work of the troops, was the heaviest ever undertaken by them. Underground lines were opened out in front of the old front line. The enemy's trenches where they approached most nearly were again and again blown up, the Turkish miners being entirely outmatched. A certain amount of fighting occurred in the tunnels, for the Turk, though hopelessly outclassed in science and vigour, never allowed himself to be easily beaten.

While the campaign was thus, virtually, at a standstill at Anzac, the efforts to advance from Cape Helles had resulted in very heavy casualties, and no headway worthy of mention had been made. The main advantage gained during these

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months was that the Turks, realizing that here was the main danger, threw large forces into their counter-attacks, and suffered losses which were probably even heavier than those of the British and French. It became clear that nothing could be achieved by expensive monthly attempts to advance in the area where attack was expected, and it was decided on the receipt of large reinforcements to deliver a blow from an entirely new direction. The reinforcements were supplied by the first 'New Army' divisions, now considered ready to take the field. The new direction was from the left flank of Anzac, whence only a short advance was needed to gain the important heights of Koja Chemen Tepe and Chunuk Bair, which had been the objective of the Australians and New Zealanders on the first day and from both of which the Narrows could be seen.

Four miles north of Anzac is the marked indentation of Suvla Bay, inland from which there is a stretch of fairly level ground as far as the two villages of Anafarta. This low ground forms a gradually rising basin in the hills, by which it is commanded on all sides except from the sea. The high mass commanding it on the southern side is the range of Sari Bair, where the Australians and New Zealanders were still holding on, and the northern end of which, immediately overlooking the two Anafartas, was formed by Koja Chemen Tepe itself. Hamilton's new plan was, by landing a new force at Suvla Bay and pushing inland as far and as fast as possible, to enable the Anzac troops, with certain reinforcements, to move forward from their position and seize the two heights mentioned above.

With a view to such an attack from his left, General Birdwood had, during the whole of the summer, deliberately refrained from any action whatever which might disturb the Turks on his northern flank. He arranged that the destroyers covering that flank should nightly carry out a small bombardment precisely similar to that which would have to be made if a night attack were being delivered against the slopes north of him. But beyond this firing, which was so regular as to have become entirely a piece of routine, the left flank of Anzac was kept completely undisturbed. At the end of July the earliest 'New Army' divisions and two divisions of Territorials began to arrive. Some of these troops were landed and paraded in the island of Mitylene in order to give the Turks the impression

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that a blow was about to be struck near Smyrna. The rest were brought to Lemnos and Imbros, the two main British bases for Gallipoli. During the first few days of August there were landed, after dark, at Anzac, the 13th Division, a brigade of the 10th, and an Indian brigade. The 11th Division and the rest of the 10th remained ready to land at Suvla on the appointed day.

The detailed plan of operations was that strong diversions should be made on the southern side in order to attract the Turkish reserves; and that immediately afterwards a force should march out from the left of the Anzac position by night and seize the main range of Koja Chemen Tepe (Sari Bair), while another force, landing at Suvla, should push inland towards the Anafartas and protect the Anzac flank. The first diversion was to be an attack at Helles early in the afternoon. This was to be followed by a second from the right of Anzac shortly before dark. After dark the main assault would be launched.

As had been the case from the day of landing, the right and right centre of the position at Anzac were held by the 1st Australian Division, the left and left centre by the New Zealand and Australian Division. The diversion upon the right therefore fell to the lot of the 1st Australian Division; while the main night attack on the left was the task of the New Zealand and Australian Division reinforced by the 13th Division, a brigade of the 10th Division, and the 29th Indian Infantry Brigade.

Upon the right it was decided to assault the tremendously strong Turkish position upon the southern knuckle of the 400 Plateau, christened 'Lone Pine'. The Turkish trenches there were known for months past to have been gradually becoming most formidable, and the seizure of Lone Pine would thrust forward the Australian line in a most awkward mushroom-shaped salient into the heart of the Turkish position. At the same time, if the rest of the offensive succeeded, the possession of Lone Pine would contribute greatly to a general Turkish defeat.

The danger of an attempt upon Lone Pine was somewhat lessened by a slight advance of the Australian line to the south of it on the night of the 31st July. The Turks had been establishing themselves uncomfortably close to a forward

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portion of the Australian front known as Tasmania Post. It was decided to eject them, and an attack was made upon their new position by the 11th Battalion led by Major Leane (the same officer who led the assault upon Gaba Tepe). The trench was taken after a difficult fight, and was known as Leane's Trench. Upon the morning of the 6th August, the Turks partially recaptured this position, but were driven out at once by a fierce counter-attack.

On that afternoon the British 29th Division launched an attack at Helles and became at once involved in heavy fighting. At Anzac newly arrived howitzers and the guns of the Navy had for some days been carrying out a slow bombardment of the Turkish trenches. At 4.30 p.m. on the 6th this bombardment concentrated on to the enemy's position on Lone Pine, and at 5.30 p.m. the 1st Australian Infantry Brigade climbed from its trenches and rushed the Turkish works. It was found that the Turkish fire trenches were almost entirely roofed with a heavy head-cover of beams and sand. Within a few minutes, however, the brigade had forced its way into them, partly through holes made by howitzer shells, and partly through the open communication trenches. The Turks fought stubbornly, although they had lost heavily in the bombardment by a few well-exploded shells, but within an hour the whole objective had been seized. There followed a most furious and bloody strife. The enemy rushed reserves to Lone Pine; and for three days and nights rifle and bomb fighting was almost continuous. The dead lay throughout the maze of trenches, piled in some places two and three deep. Bomb stops were built and defended. As the 1st Brigade wore itself out, the 7th Battalion and part of the 5th (of the 2nd Brigade) and some of the 12th Battalion of the 3rd Brigade were thrown into the Pine. At the end of three days the Turks, who had managed to drive the Australians back from a short length of commanding trench which overlooked the rear of the Turkish post, ceased their counter-attacks. The development of the fight elsewhere had long since told them that the main danger was far removed from the Pine, and henceforward to the end of the campaign the mushroom salient of Lone Pine remained in Australian hands.

After dark on the 6th August, just four hours after the uproar of the assault upon Lone Pine had begun, from the

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northern flank of Anzac emerged the force which was to carry out during that night and the early morning the great night attack upon Chunuk Bair and Koja Chemen Tepe. The story of that effort belongs only in part to Australian history. The foot-hills were first rushed in the dark by the New Zealand Mounted Rifles, but of the four columns which marched out behind the Mounted Rifles, and moved through them to carry forward the attack up the main slopes of the range and on the extreme flank, one was formed of the 4th Australian Infantry Brigade (part of the New Zealand and Australian Division). This column had to go beyond and to the north of the New Zealand Infantry and of the 29th Indian Infantry Brigade, and seize the summit of Koja Chemen Tepe itself, climbing by way of the long high spur known as Abdel Rahman Bair near Anafarta. It was a portentous task. The night attack from the start had, not unnaturally, been behind time, and the march of the column dragged itself out through the hours of darkness. There was an acute difference of opinion between the gallant New Zealand officer who guided it and a Greek who had been brought because he knew the ground ; and, on the advice of the Greek, a route not intended in the plan was taken, which proved to be a short but difficult cut. The head of the column was opposed by Turks who had survived the attack of the Mounted Rifles, and long after the hour when Koja Chemen Tepe was planned to have been reached, the column was still far short of the spur of Abdel Rahman Bair. It was now broad daylight and the men were worn out. The flanks were either altogether in the air or uncertain of the position of other flanking forces. A point had been reached which was believed then to be the Asma Valley, below Abdel Rahman Bair, but which later proved to be the Kaiajik Valley, a nearer gully than the Asma Dere. The tired men, many of whom had started weak from previous sickness, were falling asleep as they went. It was therefore decided to stop the advance and dig in for the day at the point then reached. Each of the columns which were attacking the main range had, without the knowledge of the others, done the same.

Two further assaults had, in the meantime, been made from the old Anzac position. They were intended partly as diversions and partly to contribute to the general result, should the Turks be defeated. Twice during the night the

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6th Australian Infantry Battalion attempted to rush the strong Turkish position known as German Officers' Trench. But an attempt of this sort, with the Turks once thoroughly roused, was very different from the assault made upon Lone Pine, and each time it failed with loss. The other attack was launched by the Light Horse, who were now holding the posts at the head of Monash Valley opposite the Nek. The intention of this latter attempt was to assist the New Zealand Infantry who were to gain the summit of Chunuk Bair during the night. It was proposed that when day broke the New Zealanders, having gained Chunuk Bair, should swing southwards and attack from the north down the crest of the range; while the Light Horse, issuing from their posts at Quinn's, Pope's Hill, and Russell's Top (opposite the Nek), should move up the range towards the infantry. A slow bombardment of the Turkish trenches opposite to the Light Horse was carried out during the night, and about dawn was greatly increased, but it stopped three minutes before the word was given to the waiting Light Horsemen upon Russell's Top to leave their parapet. During that interval every Turk in the trenches opposite had time to get up into a firing position, rest his rifle on the parapet, and wait for whatever was to come. When the signal was given, the first line of the 8th Light Horse Regiment dashed over the sandbags towards the Turkish trench. Before it had gone a dozen yards it had been swept away almost to a man by the whirlwind of fire which raked No Man's Land. The second line of the 8th saw the first wave go, and saw it annihilated. But three minutes later, when the word was given, the second wave also rushed to its death without an instant's hesitation. Fifteen minutes later it was followed by a line of the 10th Light Horse, which went, fully knowing, to the same fate. It was not till a fourth line (of the 10th Light Horse) had started that the attack was stopped. There is nothing more in the story. The 3rd Light Horse Brigade went out, because it was ordered to go, to certain death, and it died. There are but bare details, because scarcely any came back to tell them. There were few incidents because the majority were instantly killed. But in all the history of war there are few stories of which a nation, and indeed the human race, can be prouder than that of the charge of the 3rd Light Horse Brigade upon the Nek.

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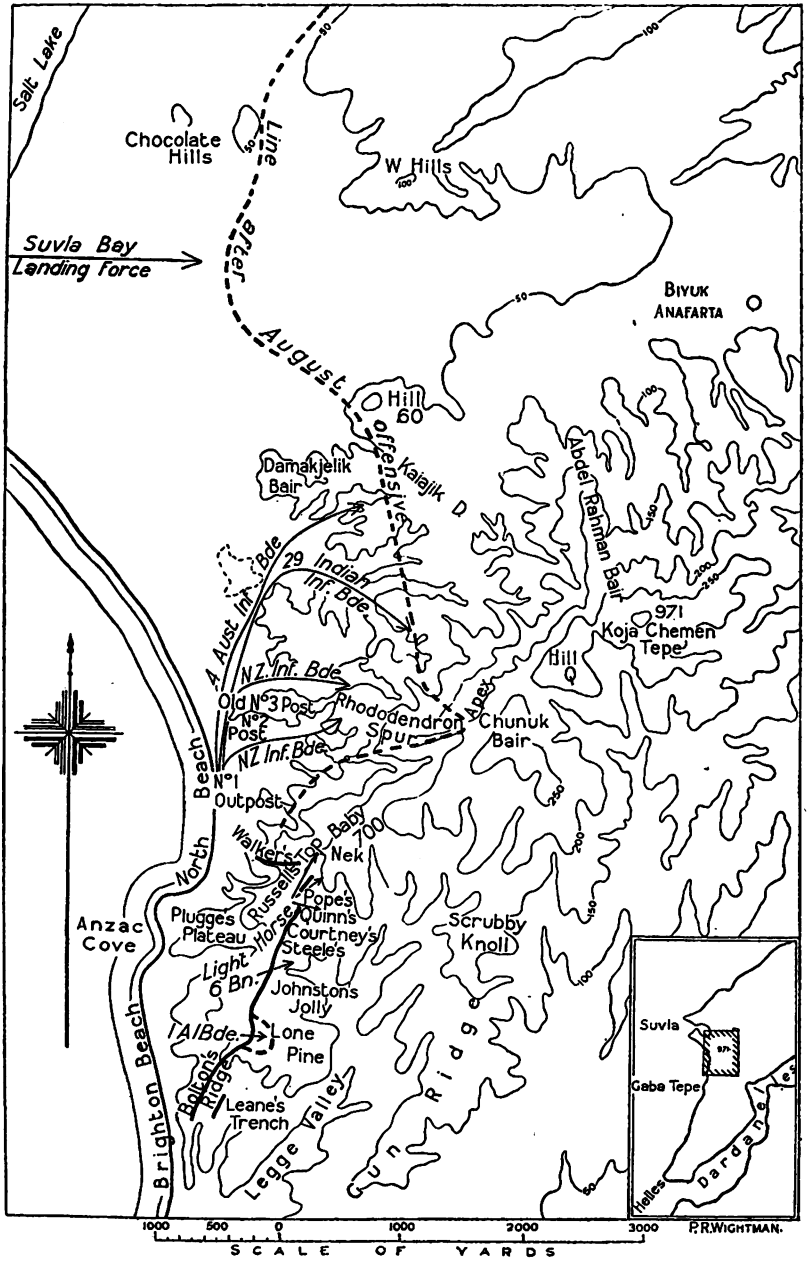

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The 1st Light Horse Brigade fought equally bravely and with somewhat more success. Although at Quinn's Post those of the Brigade who emerged were instantly annihilated, further loss at this point was prevented by staying the attack. Simultaneously the 1st regiment from Pope's seized three lines of Turkish trenches and held them for some hours. But as the attacks upon either flank had failed, the regiment had to return to its trenches after heavy loss.

Thus, when the morning of the 7th August came, the summits of the main ridge were still ungained; and, as the light grew, it was realized that the new force which had landed at Suvla Bay during the night had made but little headway. Notwithstanding, the attempt to carry Chunuk Bair was still maintained; and the 4th Australian Infantry Brigade, away on the extreme left front on the Kaiajik Valley, was ordered to resume its attack upon Koja Chemen Tepe by way of Abdel Rahman Bair at dawn on the next day. Before daybreak on the 8th August the 14th, 15th, and 16th battalions of this brigade moved out, leaving the 13th in the lines which they had dug. They made their way across the Kaiajik Dere, and over the next spur. But before reaching Abdel Rahman Bair they were met with a heavy fire of machine guns, and were simultaneously attacked from the flank. The losses were very heavy and the column was driven back to its starting-point. On this same morning the New Zealand Infantry seized part of the summit of Chunuk Bair, but two days later the position was lost. On the 10th August, when the great effort against Sari Bair had worn itself out, the lines were almost identical with those which were reached by dawn on the 7th August, at the end of the first night's advance.

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CHAPTER IV

GALLIPOLI. THE LAST PHASE

THE second great attempt upon the Gallipoli Peninsula had thus failed. The Australians and New Zealanders were holding a much extended position, which reached very near to the summit of Chunuk Bair. But this commanding height, like all the other summits of the range from which observation of the Straits was possible, was still denied to them. The force which had landed at Suvla had made no great headway, the attempt to seize the heights surrounding it having failed, and the harbour being thus under the close observation of the enemy. The forces at Anzac and Suvla were still barely in touch with each other, and the Turks were hemming both in with a system of trenches which daily extended and grew in strength.

One more attempt was made to advance the Anzac–Suvla line before the campaign there crystallized again into trench warfare. The 29th Division was brought up from Helles, and, with the British Yeomanry, it delivered on the 21st August a brave assault against the low hills which immediately faced the centre and right of the Suvla force. At the same time the flank of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps which bordered the Suvla plain assaulted a bare knoll, known as Hill 60, which rose beyond the Kaiajik Dere, on which the line of the 4th Australian Infantry Brigade rested. This latter attack was the task of the much worn New Zealand Mounted Rifles, and was a partial success. The 4th Brigade, advancing on the Mounted Rifles' flank, received a withering machine-gun fire down the valley, and did not quite reach the Turkish trench, but it held on in front of the Turkish line. During the night the first troops of a newly-arrived Australian Division (the 2nd Australian Division, under Major-Gen. J. G. Legge), were put in to complete the success of the Mounted Rifles. The task was one of extreme difficulty, and the 18th Australian Infantry Battalion lost very heavily in the attempt which failed. On the 27th August and the following days the attack was renewed by the Mounted Rifles with the 18th Battalion

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and part of the 4th Brigade and some British troops. First the 9th and then the 10th Light Horse regiments were brought in to complete the hold upon Hill 60, and as the result of heavy fighting and considerable loss about half of the summit was eventually gained.

With this fight all attempt to carry forward the line seized in the August offensive ended. The troops at Anzac, as at Suvla Bay, were hemmed round by a complete ring of Turkish trenches. They did not suffer great losses from the enemy's fire so long as they did not attack, but the daily wastage through dysentery was as great in the long run as the cost of heavy fighting.

The problem confronting the Gallipoli command at this time was: would the next move come from within or from without? There was a general expectation that Bulgaria might still enter the war on the side of the Allies. But the one condition which might have decided her to do so was absent—namely, that the Allies should first strike a successful blow for themselves. This they had attempted to do and had failed. Another move could only be made if heavy reinforcements were sent from Britain and France. In the event Bulgaria joined the enemy. Reinforcements from Britain and France were diverted to a new enterprise which suddenly became greatly attractive in Salonica, and the only alternatives before the force which was clinging to its footholds in Gallipoli were to continue to cling there during the winter or to abandon the objects of the expedition and evacuate the Peninsula.

From the first the Gallipoli expedition had depended to a greater extent than many at the time realized upon the continuance of fine weather. Fine sunny days, with a wind from the north-east, which does not affect the beaches where the landing was made, were said to be the normal weather in the Peninsula from April to October. Under these conditions the landing of stores and troops from transports had continued on the open beaches at Anzac and Helles as steadily as in a safe harbour. There was not a day in these months when communication between shore and ships was interrupted. As some shelter against slight breezes, old steamers had been sunk off the landing-piers at Suvla, Anzac, and Lancashire Landing at Helles, while the French at Sedd-el-Bahr made an even more solid breakwater with the old battleship *Massena*.

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But in October the Anzac beach was for the first time seriously storm beaten. It became clear that if the troops remained on the Peninsula after November they might have to fight not merely the Turks but the weather, and it was matter for speculation how far stores could be landed or any of the activities of the beach maintained during the winter. There was little chance that the very heavy reinforcements necessary for any chance of success in a forward movement would be available, and, if they were, there was no room on that front for using them to advantage. Meanwhile, the continuance of the force on the Peninsula struggling against the winter and adverse conditions seemed to many a complete waste of men who were most urgently needed elsewhere.

Under these circumstances the possibility of evacuating the Peninsula began to be argued, not only in whispers amongst the staffs and the command of the expedition itself, but in the press of Great Britain and even in the House of Lords. The reasons for evacuation were obvious. The reasons against it were three: the hazardous nature of the operation; the effect which it would have on native opinion throughout the East; and the effect upon public opinion in Australia and New Zealand. Leading Anglo-Indian or Anglo-Egyptian soldiers, such as Hamilton, Kitchener, and Birdwood, were against the proposal. Hamilton was impressed with the difficulty of the operation; Birdwood and Kitchener with its effect on the Indian mind and upon Orientals generally; the attitude of Australia and New Zealand was an anxiety rather for the politicians.

The manner in which the decision to evacuate Gallipoli was arrived at belongs not to Australian but to Imperial history. Hamilton was relieved of the command. His successor, Sir Charles Monro, had made up his mind from the first that evacuation was the proper course. Kitchener visited the Peninsula himself, and after considerable wavering, on the 7th December the order to evacuate Suvla and Anzac was given. By the 9th December the staffs were busy upon the problem; and by next day certain non-combatants—Labour Corps, and some of the medical units, were being withdrawn. The troops left the Peninsula after dark, and the movement ceased before dawn every morning.

Owing to an accident to Sir Charles Monro, General Birdwood

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had previously taken over the command of the whole force at the Dardanelles, and he was continued in it throughout the period of evacuation. His head-quarters were with the staff of the Army at Imbros. The direct command of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps devolved upon Major-Gen. Sir Alexander Godley, commanding the New Zealand and Australian Division. It was, however, only shortly before evacuation actually began that General Godley came to the Corps head-quarters, and the conduct of affairs at Anzac during this time really fell upon Brig.-Gen. C. B. B. White more than upon any other man. White, who had left Australia with the 1st Australian Division as Chief of Bridges's Staff, had shortly after the offensive of August become Chief of Staff to General Birdwood. When Birdwood left Anzac, White remained. At the conference which was held at Imbros to discuss and settle the plans of evacuation his views went far towards determining the scheme which was eventually adopted for the whole operation, while for working out the difficult movement at Anzac he was almost entirely responsible.

The position at Anzac differed widely from that at Suvla and Helles, inasmuch as every movement was under close observation by the Turks. The enemy's trenches at the Nek were within 800 yards of the piers upon North Beach, from which the troops would have to embark; and parts of the beach were visible from a Turkish post in the foot-hills north of Anzac known as Snipers' Nest, only 1,100 yards away. A machine gun from Snipers' Nest nightly sprayed the paths and bivouacs above North Beach. While the enemy was thus close to the scene of the embarkation, troops had to be withdrawn from positions two miles distant some hours before they could reach the piers. If their withdrawal were noticed an attack might be made, and the Turks at the Nek had only to advance between 200 and 300 yards in order to have the whole scene of embarkation under the muzzles of their rifles, 400 feet below them and only 600 yards away. The position was perilous in the extreme; and a vigorous Turkish or German command would have had a set of standing operation orders prepared—ready to set its troops in motion upon the first sign of evacuation.

But no such step appears to have been taken. The enemy saw men and guns both embarking and disembarking at Suvla

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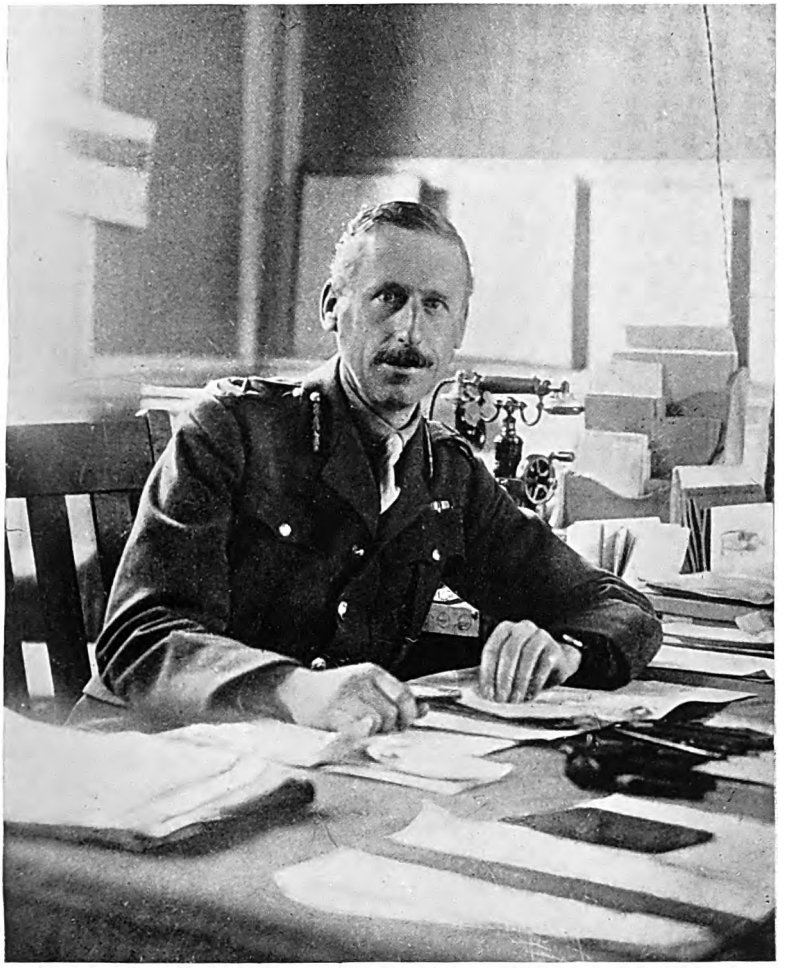

MAJ.-GENERAL SIR C. B. B. WHITE

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and Anzac, and this was apparently taken to be the normal movement of troops in anticipation of winter. A severe blizzard in the middle of November had caused great sickness and loss to both sides. The casualties from this storm at Suvla Bay were as large as those of a great battle, and from the Turkish side dead bodies were in some cases washed down the flooded watercourses into the British lines. It was clear alike to friend and foe that in any case many precautions must be taken to prevent winter from bringing a series of such disasters, and before the final stage of the evacuation the British forces both at Suvla and Anzac had been reduced by half without any definite suspicion having reached the Turks.

The intention was that two days before the end 20,000 troops should be remaining at Suvla and 20,000 at Anzac. In two nights this force had to be entirely removed. The plan was to take 10,000 each night. At Anzac on the last night the garrison was divided into three parties. About half of the men were to be withdrawn at dusk. Half of the remainder were to move out several hours later, thus leaving a bare skeleton of the garrison to keep up an appearance of activity along the whole front. At a time early enough to bring them to the piers at the final hour of embarkation the last men from the distant portions of the line were to withdraw. From that time onward until the rear party embarked there would be considerable portions of the line entirely open to the enemy. That interval involved the greatest amount of risk, and in order, for a while at least, to deceive the Turks, contrivances were made whereby rifles could be left at their loopholes which would fire a shot twenty minutes after the garrison had left.

There was every anticipation that the final stage would be costly, although towards the end of the last week the success of the withdrawal already carried out led some to hope that the retirement would not be discovered in time for the Turks to inflict loss. But few who said good-bye to their friends in the last parties expected to see them again. Nevertheless, amongst the Australians and New Zealanders there was the greatest possible anxiety to be included with those who remained to the last. 'I have been here since the start,' one man complained to his colonel. 'I consider I have a right to be left here to the last.'

The details of embarkation were very carefully worked out

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in concert with the Navy; and, as a matter of prudence, the first of the two final nights was made the occasion for an exact rehearsal of the arrangements for the last night of all. A great difficulty was that the moon was very bright, the decision as to evacuation having been left so late that this disadvantage had to be faced.

To the surprise of every one the operation was completely successful. On neither of the two last nights was there the least sign of suspicion on the part of the Turks. By the morning of the 18th December the whole of the long Anzac line from end to end amongst the hills was held by only 10,000 men. That afternoon an infantry attack was launched at Helles by way of a feint. At dusk on the 19th the retirement of the last garrison began. From midnight onwards portions of the line near Chunuk Bair and Cheshire Ridge were open to the Turks. But the enemy's rifles snapped there as usual. An occasional bomb exploded.

The final parties retired through the rear party of the 2nd Australian Division which was holding an interior line specially fortified in case of necessity on Plugge's Plateau and other inner heights. As the last batches of troops were filing down to the beach in the early morning, there broke out on the Suvla shore a series of huge fires—the stores there having been lighted by the British on leaving the Bay. Shortly afterwards, at 3.30 a.m., the earth was shaken by a heavy explosion. Three big mines which had been laid by the Australian engineers in tunnels dug deeply beneath the enemy's trenches at the Nek were exploded. A furious rifle fire broke out along the Turkish line lasting for twenty minutes, and long before it subsided there remained not a single Australian, New Zealand, or British soldier ashore at Anzac. The evacuation of Suvla was completed about the same hour.

So ended the Australian share in the Gallipoli Expedition. The troops were withdrawn to Egypt. The discontent and criticism which some had apprehended might result in Australia never arose. The attitude of the Australian and New Zealand peoples was: 'We have entrusted the conduct of this war, so far as we are concerned, to the British Government. If the Gallipoli Campaign and the evacuation afterwards have been deemed by that government to be best, we shall say and do nothing whereby the hand of Britain shall be hampered or difficulties created for her Ministers.'

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Sketch Map of THE WESTERN FRONT 1914-1918

English Miles

0 10 20 30 40 60 80

Principal Railways

,, Canals

Boundaries in 1914

Approximate Lines

Furthest German Advance, 1914

Note:- Some German patrols penetrated beyond this line

Allied line 1 July, 1916 (before Somme Battles)

,, ,, 21 March, 1918 (Limit of Allies' advances 1916-17)

,, ,, 15 July, 1918 (Furthest German advance)

,, ,, 11 November, 1918 (Armistice Line)

Northern & Southern boundaries of British Armies during the Final Advance xxxxxx

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CHAPTER V

THE AUSTRALIANS IN FRANCE: POZIÈRES AND FROMELLES

In the first days of January 1916 the 1st and 2nd Australian and the N.Z. and A. Divisions, after camping several weeks in Lemnos, returned to Egypt, where at that time there existed much apprehension of a Turkish attack through Palestine and Syria. Bulgaria having now entered the war on the side of the Germans, the enemy had continuous railway communication from Berlin to Constantinople, and from Haidar Pasha, on the south side of the Bosphorus, to Alexandretta. Thence, except for a space where the Taurus and Amanus mountains had not yet been completely pierced by tunnels, the Turks had a continuous railway to Palestine.

The talk of this second expedition across the desert was largely German propaganda; but the return of the Gallipoli forces was very welcome to the Egyptian command, and was followed by the construction of a line of defence beyond the canal in the desert of Sinai, upon which the Anzac troops were largely employed. The head-quarters of General Godley, who still commanded the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps, were at Ismailia; and those of General Birdwood, who had at this time no very definite command beyond general control of the Australian Imperial Force, were at the same place.

Over and above convalescent, sick, and wounded, a very large body of reinforcements sent from Australia during the latter part of the Gallipoli campaign, had been retained in Egypt pending the evacuation of the Peninsula. It was now suggested by General Birdwood to the Government in Melbourne that these should be used to form several new divisions. At this time the Australian Imperial Force contained the 1st and 2nd Australian Infantry Divisions, and two single infantry brigades, the 4th which had been in Gallipoli from the landing, and the 8th which was in Egypt. It was decided, by splitting the 1st Division and the 4th Brigade into two, and

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building up each half of them with reinforcements, to double the number of Australian divisions then in Egypt. The Commonwealth Government at the same time decided to raise and organize a further division in Australia. There were thus formed, besides the existing 1st and 2nd Australian Divisions, the following: in Egypt the 4th and 5th, and in Australia the 3rd Australian Division. The Light Horse Brigades were combined with the New Zealand Mounted Rifles to form the Anzac Mounted Division. The New Zealand Government similarly expanded its infantry brigade into an infantry division.

The Australian and New Zealand forces were thus increased to five Australian infantry divisions, one New Zealand infantry, and one combined Anzac Mounted Division. Men and officers were also taken from the Australian and New Zealand force to form into camel regiments; and about this time the Australian Flying Corps, which had so far only provided a small contingent in Mesopotamia, began to establish its first squadron in Egypt. The mounted troops, the Flying Corps, and the Camel Corps, were allotted to the defence of Egypt. But it was decided to transfer the whole six divisions of Anzac infantry to France. About this time the latter were formed into two army corps:

1st Anzac Corps (Lieut.-Gen. Sir W. R. Birdwood; Chief of Staff, Brig.-Gen. C. B. B. White).
1st Australian Division (Major-Gen. H. B. Walker).
2nd Australian Division (Major-Gen. J. G. Legge).
New Zealand Division (Major-Gen. A. H. Russell).
2nd Anzac Corps (Lieut.-Gen. Sir Alexander Godley).
4th Australian Division (Major-Gen. H. V. Cox).
5th Australian Division (Major-Gen. J. W. McCay).

The 3rd Australian Division was sent to Salisbury Plain for its training, and was presently placed under the command of Major-Gen. John Monash, coming into the fighting line in the following November. The Anzac Mounted Division which was left in Egypt was commanded by the former brigadier of the 1st Australian Light Horse Brigade, Major-Gen. H. Chauvel.

In the first days of April 1916 the troops of the 2nd Australian Division of the 1st Anzac Corps entered the line upon the Western Front immediately south of Armentières in French

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Flanders, and the 1st Australian and the New Zealand Divisions a few days later. The line in this region was the quietest on the British front, owing to the existence of the great French city of Lille close behind the German lines, which the British were anxious not to bombard. For this reason the area was used by both British and Germans as a training ground for new troops, or, at any rate, troops new to the Western Front. Owing to the sodden nature of the lowlands, it had not been possible to dig trenches to any depth, but wide breast works built above the ground served as protection almost equally well. Opposite the British line, at distances varying from 50 to 500 yards, ran a similar German breastwork. The line on each side was protected by guns, emplaced in hidden positions a mile or more to the rear, and far more numerous than either side had possessed in Gallipoli, and also by a much multiplied trench artillery of mortars and bomb-throwers. No Man's Land was covered by a system of fixed and mobile machine guns which made any attempt to cross it hopeless unless the machine-gun positions had first been destroyed by artillery fire.

At the time when the Australians and New Zealanders reached France the conviction of the fighting troops was that the war would end upon the same lines which they were then occupying. On many occasions attempts had been made to break through the enemy's defence on a front of some width, and on each occasion all that had resulted was a salient or bulge in the line most dangerous to those whose partial success had created it. The heaviest attempt yet made—that of the Germans at Verdun, appeared to have been held up by the French as conclusively as previous French and British attacks had been stopped by the Germans.

But though this was the general attitude of the fighting troops, the higher command held that a break through was possible if attempted under conditions which had never yet been attainable by the Allies, namely, if supported by an overwhelming weight of guns and ammunition, and by large reserves of troops. By rigid economy in ammunition during the months before the attempt, by an enormously increased provision of guns and ammunition from England and America which was just beginning, and by the arrival of the new divisions of the British Army, whose training was completed

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in the ' nursery ' at Armentières, the British Staff was enabled to join the French in planning an offensive with the idea of breaking through the German line on a very wide front. It was decided to launch this offensive at the point where the British Army joined the French—where the River Somme ran through the lines from east to west immediately east of Amiens. In order to divert the attention of the Germans and obtain all possible information, a series of ' trench raids ' was ordered to be made along the whole British front, and in these the Australian Divisions at Armentières became in June actively engaged.

The Australian and New Zealand forces were not involved in the great attack launched after a most formidable bombardment on the morning of the 1st July 1916. It was intended that the Allied troops, breaking the German line on a wide front, should force their way through, in the course of a few days, to Bapaume. An attack was to be made later in Flanders, and here the Anzac troops were to take part. The offensive on the Somme, however, did not succeed to the extent which had been hoped for. Fighting very stubbornly at La Boisselle, Fricourt, and other points, the Germans held salients protruding into the line of the first day's advance, only to be captured by local attacks. The struggle thus degenerated immediately into a series of scattered attacks upon individual points, very similar to the fighting which had so often proved wasteful and disappointing in the past. Owing to the heavy initial losses on the left and left centre the reserves were quickly used up ; before July was far advanced it was clear that further troops would be needed, and the 1st Anzac Corps on the 8th July received orders to entrain for the south. The New Zealand Division was left with the 2nd Anzac Corps, under General Godley, at Armentières, the 4th Australian Division took its place in the 1st Anzac Corps, and the 1st, 2nd, and 4th Australian Divisions, under General Birdwood, entrained for Doullens and thence marched to the neighbourhood of Amiens. When they arrived there, the British advance was held up in front of the village of Thiepval on the left, and in the centre in front of the small village of Pozières.

In order to prevent the Germans from withdrawing, in a similar manner, divisions from their line in Flanders and sending them to the Somme, diversions were taken in hand

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on the front farther north. It was decided that one such attack could be suitably made against a salient of the German line south of Armentières, in front of the village of Fromelles. Opposite to this salient were stationed the 5th Australian Division, which had just arrived from Eygpt, and the 61st Division, a Territorial formation recently brought from England. Besides the artillery of the 5th Australian Division, which was new, the infantry was supported by that of the 4th Division, which, having only been formed in Egypt, and being entirely new to the work in the field, had been left temporarily at Armentières while some Regular British artillery was allotted to the infantry of the 4th Australian Division on the Somme.

The attack on Fromelles was planned for the 17th July. But, as the heavy artillery which was to support it had not had time to register its guns on the German line before that date, it was postponed. The infantry of the 5th Australian Division was concentrated into a narrow front opposite the northern face of the German salient (known from its shape as the 'Sugar Loaf salient'), and that of the 61st was opposite its western face. The two divisions were for the purposes of the attack under the command of Lieut.-Gen. Sir R. C. B. Haking of the XIth Corps.

At 6 p.m. on the 19th July the postponed attack took place. The British heavy artillery had been endeavouring by bombardment to destroy the trenches of the salient where machine guns were most likely to be emplaced. With a view to puzzling the Germans as to the hour of the attack, and deceiving them when it actually occurred, several false bombardments were carried out during the day. These were followed by cheers and waving of bayonets in order to induce the enemy to man his parapets, when the artillery opened again suddenly upon him. It is doubtful if these feints effected anything beyond apprising the enemy that the attack, which had been only too obviously preparing, was about to take place. The Germans had bombarded the communication trenches by which the troops destined for the attack had to approach the front line, and forced them to move over the open, where they were seen and shelled during the earlier hours of the afternoon.

When the assault was launched it was found that the machine guns in the Sugar Loaf salient had not been subduced

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by the shell-fire. Of the Territorials a mere handful succeeded in reaching the German trench. Of the 5th Australian Division the 8th and 14th Brigades crossed No Man's Land, seized the two lines of German trenches opposing them, and moved on to what was marked in their maps as the third trench, their objective. They came upon a ditch—which had probably been used in the early days of the war as a trench—half full of water. Some stayed there under the impression that it was the third trench (which it was); a few pushed ahead searching for an earthwork, and finding none fell back upon the same position, which they lined and endeavoured to fortify, many standing in water almost to their waists.

The machine guns in the Sugar Loaf salient had, however, made impossible the advance of the 15th Australian Infantry Brigade on the right. Sweeping No Man's Land these guns during the night accounted for half the fighting strength of this brigade. Several brave attempts were made to reach the German trench, but it is doubtful if any man of the 15th arrived there. The battalions of the 14th Brigade next to it had lost in some cases nearly all their officers on the way across No Man's Land, but they held out in the German trenches all night long. The 8th Brigade was half surrounded by Germans penetrating along the enemy's old front line behind its left, and towards morning retired (partly cutting its way through the Germans) to its own front line. After dawn the 14th Brigade also was withdrawn by order through a communication trench which had been dug during the night. All three brigades lost heavily. The attack had cost the 5th Australian Division between 5,000 and 6,000 casualties in a single night and effected nothing commensurate with the casualties.

On the very day on which the 5th Australian Division in French Flanders was making this attack, the first troops of the 1st Division in the south were put into the line before Pozières village for a projected attack upon this obstacle, which, as has been said, together with the promontory of Thiepval, was holding up the British advance upon the Somme. The Germans held the ruins of this village, which were half visible in the stumps of the trees which used to surround it. At Pozières the old Roman Road from Amiens to Cambrai ran over the highest point on the Somme battlefield. On the

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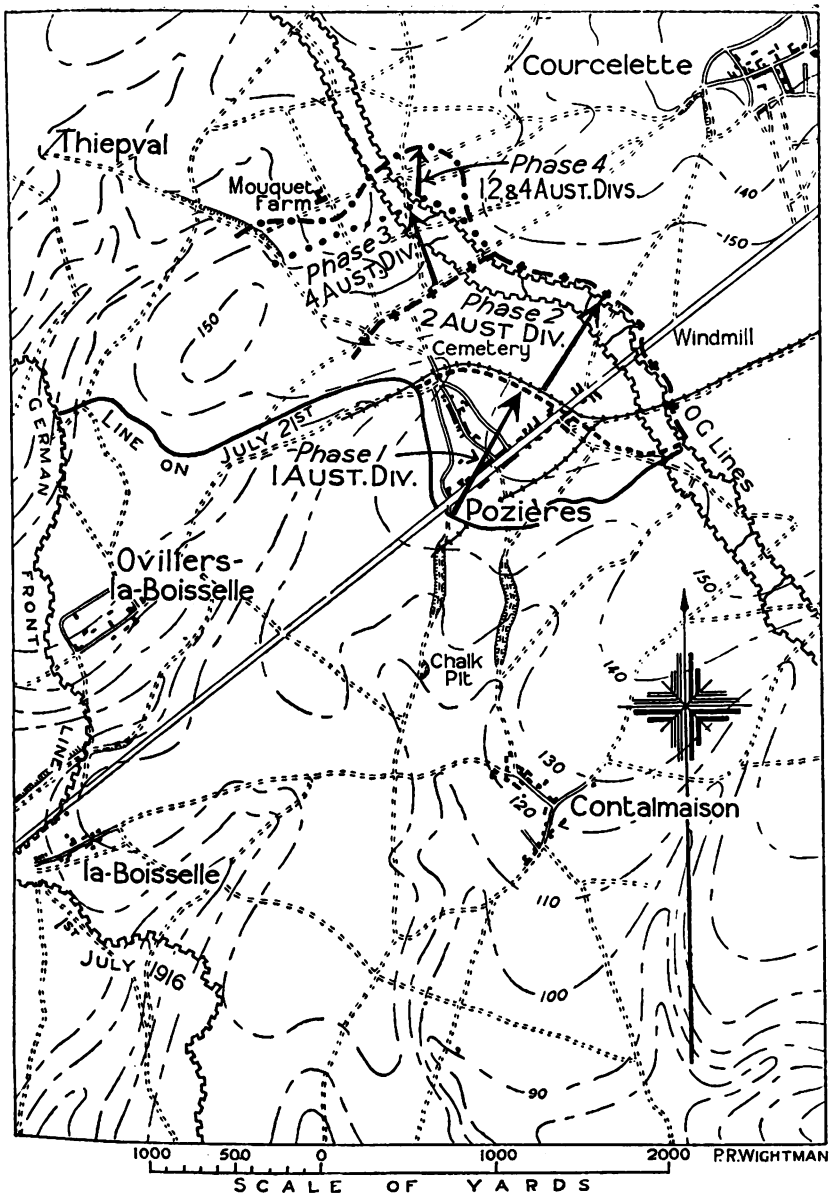

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crest, beside the road and beyond the village, had stood the windmill of Pozières, now reduced to a heap of bricks. Along the summit ran the German second line defences—two strong continuous trenches from which many deep 'dug-outs' had been sunk into the earth beneath them. Farther east [1] and south these lines had been taken, but the British hold on them ceased nearly half a mile short of Pozières village. They were known as the 'Old German' lines, which was generally shortened into the 'O. G.' lines, and running along the crest towards Thiepval constituted then the main German defences. But in front of them, like a bastion, lay the village and trenches of Pozières, before which several British attacks had failed. In the ugly low wire entanglements which fringed the Pozières tree stumps could be seen, pitifully enmeshed, the bodies of British soldiers.

In order to clear the way for the next assault, it was thought well by the British command (under which the 1st Australian Division at first came) to attack a strong German post in the O. G. lines south of Pozières which had so far held out. On the night of the 21st July attempts were made by portions of the 9th Battalion to take it. But each attack failed with fairly heavy loss. The grand attack was planned for the night of the 22nd July, and had therefore to be undertaken before this obstacle had been removed.

In the Somme battle the Australians had entered a warfare new to them—warfare in which bombardment and barrage were the deciding factors. This system, which had been made possible by the enormous output of guns and ammunition on both sides, was, in attack, to crush the enemy's trenches, destroy his machine guns, and demoralize his men by a lengthy annihilating bombardment of the points to be assaulted; and closely prior to and during the advance itself to keep down the fire of the enemy riflemen and machine guns by placing a barrage or curtain of artillery fire upon whatever lines of the enemy were immediately in front of the attacking troops. In defence, the system was to lay down a similar barrage immediately behind the attacking troops, and so cut them off from communication with their supports and reserves; and to bombard them in their new positions preparatory to delivering

[1] At this particular point the line at this date was more west and east than north and south.

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a counter-attack. Into fighting of this type, which shattered whole areas of France with storms and tornadoes of shell-fire, the Australians now came for the first time.

The bombardment which prepared the way for the attack of the 1st Australian Division upon Pozières was memorable even amongst those which occurred in the later years of the war. During the afternoon of the 22nd July the bombardment of heavy shell, which had been slowly tearing to shreds the remains of Pozières village and woods, was concentrated more closely than before upon the stump of the village. Shortly after dark it spread along the greater part of the line of the Somme battlefield. The attack was to be a wide one, extending far beyond the flanks of the Australians. The Germans replied by heavy counter-barrages in which they used much gas shell. Through this fire several battalions of the 3rd and 1st Australian Infantry Brigades were making their way to their 'jumping-off' positions. The gas forced them to wear their masks, and with the old type of gas helmet it was almost impossible to see at night. The 12th and 10th Battalions became wedged in amongst each other, and several of their companies were unable punctually to reach the starting-point. But the troops who were to take the 'first objective' were in position and waiting while their own bombardment shrieked over their heads upon Pozières trench—the German front line which skirted the nearer side of the village a short distance ahead.

The assault was made in a series of limited advances on fixed objectives. In order to avoid the wastefulness of the old system of attack in which battalions and divisions had spent their strength in pushing ahead to unknown positions where their own artillery could not locate and protect them, definite lines were fixed to which successive bodies of attacking troops were to attain—each advance making a distinct phase of the whole effort. On this night in the Pozières fighting there were three such objectives: Pozières trench; the tramway line in front of the village (a line constructed by the Germans to supply their guns and troops); and the main Amiens–Cambrai road which formed the central street of the village. Beyond that street the attack was not to go except on the extreme left, where a division of London Territorials joined the flank of the 1st Australian Brigade.

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The assault was almost completely successful. Before dawn all Pozières village south of the road had been taken. Outposts were being pushed, in accordance with orders, across the road and capturing Germans in the cellars and dug-outs of the village. Only on the right, where the dug-outs of the O. G. lines formed a system of strong points and redoubts immediately on the Australian flank, did the attack partly fail. The line attained on the right came back at a gradual angle from the village and joined the O. G. lines not very far from the position reached in them prior to the attack. On other parts of the front, outside the Australian sector, the assault at most points failed. Australian outposts were pushed during this day and the next through the village, beyond the main road, to the cemetery. The whole of Pozières village was taken; and the line now lay facing the O. G. lines which ran along the crest some four or five hundred yards ahead of the Australian line and slightly above it. Far away to the left rear the German fortress of Thiepval lay still untaken.

The Germans replied to the capture of Pozières by concentrating their artillery upon the point where the main advance of the night had been made—the Pozières heights. After delivering a local counter-attack in the early morning, which entirely failed, they gradually ranged their batteries on to the Australian positions along the main road in Pozières; and on the 24th July they began a bombardment of Pozières village, the main road, and its approaches, which will remain one of the memorable bombardments of history. The trenches newly dug by the 3rd and 1st Brigades south of the main road were quickly reduced to powder. The troops occupying them were, in some cases, after heavy losses, either taken forward across the road or brought back to trenches and dug-outs near old German battery positions immediately short of the village. In other cases they simply held on to the trenches and were buried there by shell-fire, dug out by their comrades, buried again, and dug out again until nearly every other man was suffering from genuine shell shock. The 12th Battalion lost nearly half its strength, and other battalions suffered as severely. Appeals were made by the staff of the 1st Australian Division to the heavy guns to carry out 'counter-battery' bombardments against the German batteries which were causing this suffering, but at this stage observation from the

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air and the control of heavy gun-fire were not what they became later in the war. After heavy loss the 1st Australian Division was relieved about the 25th July by the 2nd, which prepared to make the second great assault in the Pozières fighting—the attack upon the O. G. lines.

In the meantime a series of isolated efforts were made to improve the position in the O. G. lines south of the main road. It will be remembered that this was the sector in which the attack of the 1st Division had partially failed, and some 600 yards of the O. G. lines south of the windmill still remained in German hands. This was attacked in turn by the 5th and 7th Battalions of Australian Infantry, by the 20th Battalion, and by the whole force of the bombers of the 5th Australian Infantry Brigade, who became involved in a titanic bomb fight in support of a local attempt by a neighbouring British battalion. At the end of it all the position remained exactly as it was before. Both sides fought until they could fight no longer, and neither kept an inch of whatever ground they gained.

By the 29th July the trench which the 1st and afterwards the 2nd Australian Divisions had been digging beyond Pozières facing the O. G. lines was partly finished. Bombardments, largely by light guns, had been carried out against the German lines and the barbed wire in front of them ; and on that night the three brigades of the 2nd Australian Division attacked, the 5th Brigade on the right, the 7th in the centre, and the 6th on the left.

The 5th Brigade was seen by the light of German flares while it was getting into position for the attack. A heavy fire of machine guns was opened upon it some time before its start, and its advance was broken. The 7th Brigade found the machine guns in the O. G. lines unsubdued by the previous bombardment, and the wire in front of the 28th Battalion uncut. After reaching the wire, and in some places the trenches, it was forced back with heavy loss. The 6th Brigade succeeded in reaching and holding the German trenches confronting it north of Pozières village.

The attack upon the O. G. lines had thus in the main failed. The loss was heavy. But the commander of the 2nd Division asked that the division might remain in the line and make a further attack. A new ' jumping off ' trench was dug with

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great difficulty farther in advance of Pozières. During all this time, from the day when it first came down upon the 1st Australian Division, the German bombardment of Pozières never ceased. The village was almost the only point at which anything was actively moving at this time in all the Somme area, and the concentrated German artillery churned it daily into a pillar of dust which could be seen for miles around, rising hour after hour above this dreadful area. The village and its surroundings were destroyed as were few other spots on the whole battle front, not a brick or a beam was left standing, and visitors in after years passing through Pozières were left unimpressed with the place simply because there was no trace to show that ever a village had stood there.

For twelve days under this continuous bombardment the 2nd Australian Division worked. By the 4th August the 'jumping off' trench was again nearly ready, and the attack was ordered for that night. The British heavy artillery, this time, had left no room for doubt as to the destruction either of the wire in front of the O. G. lines or of the dug-outs and the machine guns. The Germans during the night caught the assembling troops again in a heavy barrage and greatly disorganized the attack. But the host of machine guns which had swept away the previous assault no longer existed, the division was not met with anything approaching the fire which broke its previous attempt, and two lines of the O. G. trenches were seized. Near the Windmill one of them had been blotted out entirely by the bombardment so that none could recognize where it ran.

With the dawn the Germans counter-attacked. They were easily beaten back. But they then began to prepare for a further counter-attack with a methodical bombardment possibly more trying than any which the Australians had yet encountered. For two days they slowly and systematically pounded with their shells the length of the front trenches, the communication trenches, and the support trenches until the troops who held them had lost half their number in some cases from shell-fire alone. Part of the 4th Australian Division had now been moved into the line south of the Windmill. Here two battalions of the 12th Australian Infantry Brigade, without being involved in any attack, lost 50 per cent. of their men simply in holding the line. The remnant held on shell-

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shocked, almost distraught, strained, as most thought, beyond the limit of all human endurance.

Yet when the final counter-attack came, on the morning of the 7th August, the Germans found the trenches still held by these men of the 2nd and 4th Australian Divisions. At one point for a few minutes the enemy made a gap in the worn-out lines, and took a few prisoners. But the tired remnant held, and a swift movement, mainly of the supports of the 4th Brigade, captured the intruding Germans and recovered some of the few Australians who had been taken. From that hour no further counter-attack was made, and the O. G. lines remained in undisputed possession of the Australians.

The Pozières summit having been captured, it was decided to make use of its possession by endeavouring to thrust out to the north so as to get in rear of Thiepval, which still remained unsubdued in front of the British line. The 4th Australian Division was accordingly launched in a series of advances northwards from the captured position. These attacks rapidly took forward the line for over half a mile beyond Pozières, until they gradually came up against a very strong German position in the remains of what had once been a large French farm—Ferme du Mouquet. The house had been demolished by recent shell-fire; but beneath its ruins the Germans had a system of large dug-outs connected by long corridors; and around it were trenches containing nests of dug-outs awkward to attack.

These defences made Mouquet Farm a strong position. But the main difficulty in attacking it at this stage of the war was that the effort had to be made from a narrow exposed salient, which, as it extended with each successive advance, became as difficult as the position in which by this same advance it was intended to place the German garrison of Thiepval. Every assembly of troops for an attack by night or day had to be made in full view of the Germans; and all communications with the front line and the attacking troops had to be undertaken over a series of crests exposed to view and to fire from nearly three-quarters of the compass. Over these exposed positions, in order to extend the salient still farther in attacks upon the fortress of Mouquet, were sent in succession the troops of the three Australian divisions, the 1st, 2nd, and 4th —who had already suffered enormous losses in the first assaults round Pozières.

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The Pozières bombardments had left the Australians worn as they never were again in the course of the war, even in the terrible struggles before Passchendaele. Conflicts like Pozières and Delville Wood belong to the history of the Somme battle and Verdun alone. Most of the Australian infantry, when, after a fortnight's rest, it entered the Somme battle again in front of Mouquet Farm, had inevitably lost some of its *élan*. In succession the 1st, 2nd, and 4th Divisions attacked the German lines at the farm and north and south of it. But though they entered the place many times, and though the 13th Brigade in a final assault took and held it for most of the morning of the 3rd September, the position was still in German hands when the Australian divisions left the Somme. The Canadians joined the Australians on the 3rd September, and the line was handed over to them on the 5th. The 1st Anzac Corps went northwards, for a quiet space, to the Ypres sector which the Canadians had just left, and Mouquet Farm was eventually taken by the 11th Division in the great attack made by the Canadians and the IInd Corps on the 26th September.

The troops of the 1st Anzac Corps entered the Somme battle on the 19th July and left it on the 5th September. In that time they had made some twenty, mostly local, attacks. The 1st Division lost in round numbers 7,000 men, the 2nd Division 9,000, and the 4th 5,000. Their slow steady progress across that terrible field was not the least worthy achievement of the British forces in one of the bloodiest battles which those forces ever fought, and the trial was particularly severe for the Australians, in that many of the troops, especially in the 4th Australian Division, were new to war. The capture of Pozières was one of the turning points in the battle of the Somme. While the Germans held it Thiepval could not be attacked, and Thiepval was one of the keys of the whole German position. Heavy as was the toll taken of Australian life, the loss and the suffering had not been entirely in vain.

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CHAPTER VI

THE SOMME WINTER AND BULLECOURT

YPRES, to which the 1st Anzac Corps was withdrawn, had not been in the past a peaceful sector of the line. In the prominent salient maintained by the British some miles to the east of the ruined city two of the heaviest battles of the war had been fought. The Germans had won the complete semi-circle of heights which look down upon it from a few miles distance, and British and Canadian tenure of the lowlands before the city, commanded by and under the eyes of the Germans, had been one of the most costly achievements in the history of the British Army.

But when the Australians were first sent into this sector the conditions had for the moment considerably changed. Here the Germans, like the British, had been robbing their line of troops to be sent southward for grinding in the great mill of the Somme, and had been filling their place with divisions which issued from that mill. The German troops holding the line at Ypres during these months were less anxious to fight than to rest; and although the Australians never throughout the war attained that attitude of mind, and proceeded to stir up the quiescent beehive with raids and other activity, the Germans opposite them did not often retaliate, as would have been done in the earlier days of the Salient. The Australians were thus left comparatively free to fortify the sector, and as the troops were under the impression that the 1st Anzac Corps was likely to winter in this area, they entered into the work of improving the defences with great energy.

During the whole of September and part of October the fortification of the Ypres sector was carried out with a completeness and thoroughness which had never been possible before. The idea of General Birdwood and his staff was that the proper defence of the sector was to hold the salient—if at all—with a mere handful of troops in outposts, and to build up in rear of the town a line which would not be an exposed salient and would be the real defence of Ypres. This line was con-

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structed and a great deal of other work had been undertaken and to a large extent finished, when orders were received towards the end of October for the Corps to return to the Somme.

The Somme battle was still running its slow course. The great advances of September, in which the New Zealanders played a prominent part by sweeping from High Wood to beyond Flers, had left the British line at the bottom of the swelling on the further side of Pozières, and facing the gentle rise on the summit of which stood Bapaume. The front ran through the village of Le Sars near the valley's bed, and close to the Butte de Warlencourt, an aged mound once covered with pine wood but now flayed by shell-fire to the naked chalk. Behind the German lines, on the far side of the valley, lay the villages of Le Barque, Thilloy, and Ligny-Thilloy, with the ramparts and clock tower of Bapaume visible on the crest behind. At the back of the British lines were the villages of Flers and Gueudecourt—both in ruins. Towards the autumn the German infantry was undoubtedly losing its morale under the repeated British attacks, and was surrendering freely at each assault. The British front had advanced well beyond Thiepval, and there were rumours constantly in the air of a big projected movement along the battle front from Gueudecourt to the Ancre. Bapaume was to fall before winter closed in. It was for this assault that every man in the 1st Anzac Corps imagined he was being brought down again from the north. At the end of October the 5th Australian Division, which had been detached from the 2nd Anzac Corps and joined to the 1st, went into the line opposite Bapaume.

Just at this moment the fine weather, which had lasted far into the autumn, broke, and the Somme battlefield was plunged in the rains of one of the wettest winters of recent years. During the summer months, when the earth was dry, any sort of trench sufficed for protection in this area. The bare earthen walls of saps and trenches stood without revetment; and trench-making consisted in little else than the cutting of open winding drains. Similarly road-making amounted to nothing more than allowing the traffic to beat down a track across country for itself.

No provision whatever had been made for either roads or trenches fit for use in winter, with the result that the first

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heavy rains separated the front-line area from those behind it by three or four miles of almost impassable morass. The trenches degenerated into ditches which quickly became full to the ankles, the knees, even the waist with heavy yellow mud. Every shell-hole—and on large parts of the battle-field the shell-holes were lip to lip over square miles of country—became a muddy trap in which a man might easily be drowned, as too often was the case. The passage of relieving or outgoing platoons over the four or five miles of mud behind the lines was heavier than a forced march of forty miles.

Into this battle-field at the end of October went the 1st Anzac Corps, now consisting of the 1st, 2nd, 4th, and 5th Australian Divisions. (The 3rd Australian Division was at this time about to move from Salisbury Plain in England to join the 2nd Anzac Corps at Armentières.) The staff of the 5th Australian Division was at once warned that an attack was to be undertaken by it and by the British troops on its left.

The weather, however, made it impossible to provide ammunition for the guns. The motor lorries had first to bring material for roads along which they could carry ammunition, and then to bring up the ammunition, before the projected attack could take place. By that time the 5th Division had to be relieved, and its place taken by the 2nd, and the offensive was necessarily postponed owing to rain, but a short respite enabled it to be fixed for the morning of the 5th November. The objectives were not very extensive. North-west of the Australian line the British troops were attacking the Butte de Warlencourt. The 2nd Australian Division was to attack part of the line immediately opposite to its own front near the bottom of the valley. During the night previous to the main assault two battalions of the 1st Australian Division were to capture a nest of German trenches near Gueudecourt.

During the night it rained. Never in the war did Australian troops fight in conditions so hopeless and depressing as on this occasion and in the action which was its sequel a week later. The mud was almost impossible to traverse. Rifles and machine guns became choked and could not be fired. Tired men slipped into shell-holes from which a dozen efforts could scarcely free them. All the attacks, after temporary success, failed with heavy loss; an attempt to repeat certain portions

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of the plan in a week's time partially succeeded for one day, but ended in the same way; and all endeavour to carry the line across the mud of that bottom was over for the year.

On both sides the troops had to fight for life against the weather during this winter on the shattered battle-field. Thousands were put out of action by frost-bite, which, under such conditions, all the measures enforced could not prevent. Gradually by heavy work the trenches were improved, and roads and railways pushed up to points within two miles of them. Dug-outs were made in which part of the troops were at least comparatively warm and safe. In many places long paths of wooden duckboards were laid down to the front line, so that communication could at least be carried on over them without great effort, though entirely exposed to the enemy's fire. Early in 1917 came heavy frost and snow which, though the temperature sank lower, was far more bearable, and the spirits of the troops gradually improved. By February, with two divisions in the line and two out 'resting' and exercising, the 1st Anzac Corps was fast recovering after one of the most trying winter experiences which was suffered by any troops on the Western Front.

As the weather improved and spring came on, several small attacks were undertaken upon exposed portions of the enemy's line—partly to discover what the Germans were doing and partly to keep up the offensive habit of the troops. Several portions of what was known as Stormy Trench were captured in this way after heavy local fighting. Numbers of Germans were taken on each occasion, but gave no information of any importance.

Twenty-four hours after one of these attacks, on the 24th February 1917, an unusual quietness was noticed in the enemy's line. The flares which he usually threw so thickly after dark were remarked to be going up from certain points only. During the morning patrols were sent out from the Australian line to creep towards the opposing trenches and discover the reason. Several of these parties found that the positions opposite them were empty, and that the lengths of trench between were held only by a few scattered posts as rear-guards. The enemy had retired from the front occupied by him facing the Australians and also from that to the north-west of it opposite the British.

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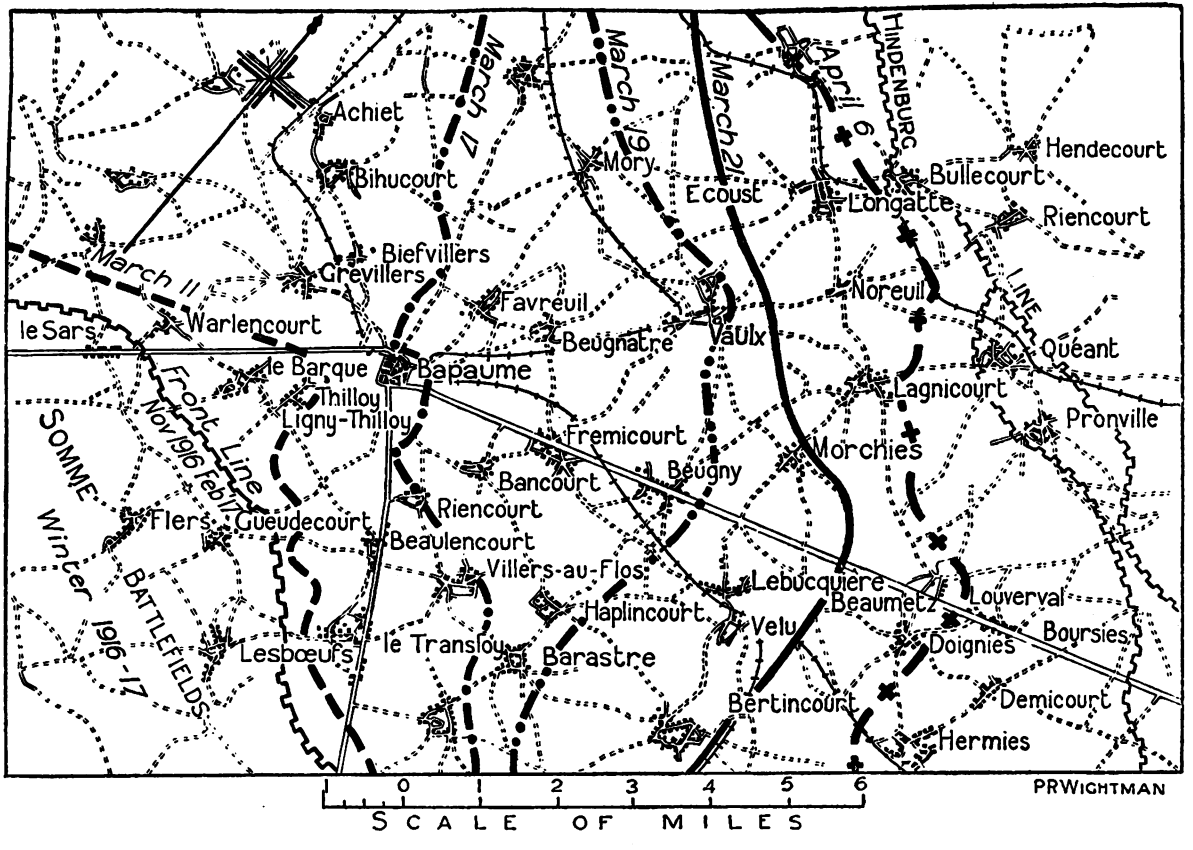

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The reason for this movement was easily guessed. The Germans feared to be heavily attacked in the spring in the salient into which the Somme battle had bent their line. During the winter rumours and reports had reached the British side of great lines of defence which were being drawn across country seven miles beyond Bapaume—lines of immense strength furnished with frequent deep dug-outs and protected by wire entanglements of unheard-of breadth and extent. One or two hints of a possible retirement had been given by prisoners, but had not been believed. It was now assumed that the German intention was to disorganize the British and possibly also the French offensives (which were certain to fall on them in the spring of 1917) by this preliminary retirement to a position chosen by themselves. A few days later a complete set of the enemy's orders was captured confirming this assumption and giving details of the plan on which the retirement was to be based.

The duty of their opponents was to press on their heels as heavily as was possible and disorganize the arrangements which they were carrying out. The divisions of the 1st Anzac Corps had specially suffered from the winter in one of the worst and the most active sectors of the front. But with the German retirement the spirits of the men rose like the mercury on a fine day. By active fighting the Germans were forced probably earlier than they had intended out of Malt Trench near Warlencourt, and from the villages of Le Barque, Thilloy, and Ligny-Thilloy. But the following of a well-planned retirement is a difficult matter, and the plans for this withdrawal had been carefully laid. Bapaume was held by the enemy as long as they intended. On the 17th March, as they evacuated it, the first troops of the 5th and 2nd Australian Divisions pressed close upon the last of their rear-guard through the town and emerged fighting into the green and comparatively open country beyond.

This region, although the villages, farms, fields, and roads were mostly as intact as in a normal country-side, was not really open country in a military sense. It was strictly bounded on its farther side by the immensely strong fortification of the Hindenburg Line (in front of which the villages and most of the woods and other cover had been destroyed for a space of three or four miles). The strip of agricultural country between

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the Hindenburg Line and the old Somme battlefield was traversed up and down its length, even after Bapaume was passed, by two strong continuous lines of trenches; and the villages had been fortified during the winter or were being hurriedly entrenched when the retirement began.

The fighting was therefore very different from a campaign in open country. The Germans had planned to retire gradually from village to village, reaching the Hindenburg Line at the end of the spring, about the time when the Anglo-French offensive would be due to fall. At the capture of Delsaux Farm beyond Bapaume by the Australians, there was found on the body of a German officer who had fought with exceeding bravery a copy of the scheme of retirement which left little doubt as to the programme. Scarcely any fight at all was made at the two intermediate lines of trenches. The Germans held the villages, and the process of forcing them back to the Hindenburg Line necessarily involved the capture of one after another of these awkward positions.

By thus shortening their line the Germans had saved a certain number of divisions which were able to go into rest and training about Cambrai or in the Hindenburg Line. The first step taken by the 1st Anzac Corps in following them was to do exactly the same. Two of the four divisions of the corps, the 1st and 4th, were almost immediately brought back out of the line. Two advance guards, complete with guns, Light Horse, and a brigade of infantry were organized mainly from the 2nd and 5th Divisions respectively, under Brig.-Gen. J. Gellibrand and Brig.-Gen. H. E. Elliott. Elliott pressed the enemy towards Beaumetz, Gellibrand towards Noreuil, villages within sight of the Hindenburg Line, the brown wire of which, together with the white spoil heaps of innumerable dug-outs, could now be seen from positions reached by the Australian advance guards.

As the Hindenburg Line was approached, the resistance of the enemy in the hamlets which formed its outposts became more stubborn. The digging of the great line was not complete, and the villages lying in front of it had to be held until both the line and its garrison were ready. The object of the troops following the retirement was to force the Germans out of these villages, if possible, before their time; at any rate to keep a heavy pressure upon them.

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The operations at this stage in some ways resembled the fighting of 1914, when the British Army was following the Germans from the Marne to the Aisne. One hamlet after another was attacked, the troops using for the first time the tactics of open warfare. In almost every case the villages were cleverly taken from an unexpected quarter, very few simple frontal attacks being undertaken. The Germans twice counter-attacked Beaumetz, and some parties succeeded in reaching the place, but were driven out by the 8th and 15th Brigades. The villages of Doignies and Louverval were taken in a fierce night attack by the 14th Brigade. Lagnicourt was captured after a heavy fight by the 7th Brigade and held against counter-attack. The 1st and 4th Divisions were brought back in place of the 2nd, and Boursies, Demicourt, and Hermies were seized after another heavy fight by the 1st and 3rd Brigades. Noreuil, after the 6th Brigade had (under orders) attempted unsuccessfully to rush the Germans out of it at the first advance, was seized by the 13th Brigade.

This advance, which had involved much sharp fighting and considerable casualties, brought the British line face to face with the formidable fortifications of the Hindenburg Line at a point not far in front of Cambrai—from the village of Bullecourt (which lay in a salient of the German line), on the left or north-west, to the villages of Hermies and Havrincourt on the right (or south). In front of the main part of the German line on the southern half of this sector ran the Canal du Nord—a deep unfinished cut, which made attack in this area difficult. From Quéant and Pronville (which were behind an outlying loop of the Hindenburg Line) to Bullecourt there was no such obstacle, the line forming a re-entrant bent back along the higher ground near Riencourt and Hendecourt villages, and projecting again to include the houses and trees of Bullecourt. From the southern part of this last-mentioned sector there sprang the strong 'switch' line which ran from Quéant and Cagnicourt far northwards to Drocourt, so as to bar any advance which the British might make if they broke through the German line in front of Arras—an attack which the enemy expected.

The British command intended to make such an effort from Arras. The date of it was to be the 9th April. In order to assist this attack it was contemplated to launch a subsidiary

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assault against the point where the Drocourt–Quéant switch left the main Hindenburg Line near Bullecourt. If the Germans, broken in front of Arras, found their main second line of defence seized behind their left rear near Bullecourt, their position would be precarious.

As so often happens, the British command, in pursuing a strategic advantage, which would have been of immense value if it could have been attained, underrated the tactical difficulties which made that advantage almost impossible to obtain. The artillery, by which the Hindenburg defences might after a long bombardment have been reduced, was not available. The Hindenburg wire had to be broken before troops could attack, and as an experiment, tanks were to go before the infantry in what then were considered large numbers, to roll down the wire and let the infantry through. In order to strike direct at the 'switch' line of trenches, the attack was ordered to take place in the re-entrant of the German line, the assaulting troops having to push straight into the angle between the projecting village of Bullecourt on one side and the advanced line circling north of Quéant on the other. The attempt, fixed for the 10th April, was to be made by two brigades of the 4th Australian Division, the 4th and 12th. If it were successful, and if the tanks returned to break the wire in front of the 62nd (British) Division on the flank, the 62nd also was to assault.

The great attack at Arras succeeded beyond expectation in the first hours of the 9th April. On the 10th April the 4th Australian Division lay out in the dawn in front of the Hindenburg Line waiting for the arrival of the tanks, but these could not come up in time. In daylight the waiting troops had to be ordered back, only an unexpected snow-storm saving them from heavy casualties. The effort was postponed for twenty-four hours, and was to be made with the same arrangements on the morning of the 11th.

In the dawn of the 11th April most of the tanks were in their position before the attack began, slightly ahead of the infantry. But snow had fallen. They were easily visible, and were at once in difficulties. Only three of them reached the German wire, and of these none penetrated the first line of that wire before the infantry. It was, however, found in places to have been partly broken by chance heavy shells and the infantry

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made its way through these gaps into the first Hindenburg trench. The wire of the second Hindenburg trench had not been broken at all. The troops had to discover an opening as best they could, under fire at close range. Major Percy Black of the 16th Battalion found a path left by the Germans through their wire, passed his men through it, and was killed as his last man penetrated it. The two brigades, 4th and 12th, each of them seized a portion of the front and support lines which were the first objective, and erecting barricades in the trenches held them. The tanks which were to have connected the two brigades, and those which were to have made a way for the 62nd Division on the flank, were destroyed before reaching the line or in the first wire entanglement.

Owing to a mistaken message that a tank with about 200 infantry had penetrated both trenches and gone farther ahead, no artillery fire could be used to cover the infantry in the line. They were cut off from all communication and supplies. The Germans were behind them on both flanks and between the two brigades. Bombs ran out, and no further store could be obtained. The enemy's bombers attacking constantly began to make headway down the trench. By 11 a.m. the only possible course was to order the men to run the risk of annihilation and withdraw. Otherwise the capture or death of the whole of the isolated troops was certain.

About half of the attacking force managed to withdraw. A thousand were hopelessly cut off and captured. The remainder were killed or wounded. The battle was a disaster; but as an example of what infantry can do, almost unaided, against unbroken fortifications by sheer *élan* and courage it stands out in the war.

The new offensive after its first stage (April 9–12) did not achieve any marked success. But in order to assist General Nivelle's offensive against the Chemin des Dames, it was necessary to continue attacking on the Arras front, although the enemy had brought up large reserves and was offering a far more effective resistance. A special effort was made on the 3rd May, and in this the 1st Anzac Corps was ordered again to assist by making a second effort—this time with the support of ample heavy artillery—against precisely the same sector east of Bullecourt which had been unsuccessfully attacked on the 11th April. The 2nd Australian Division,

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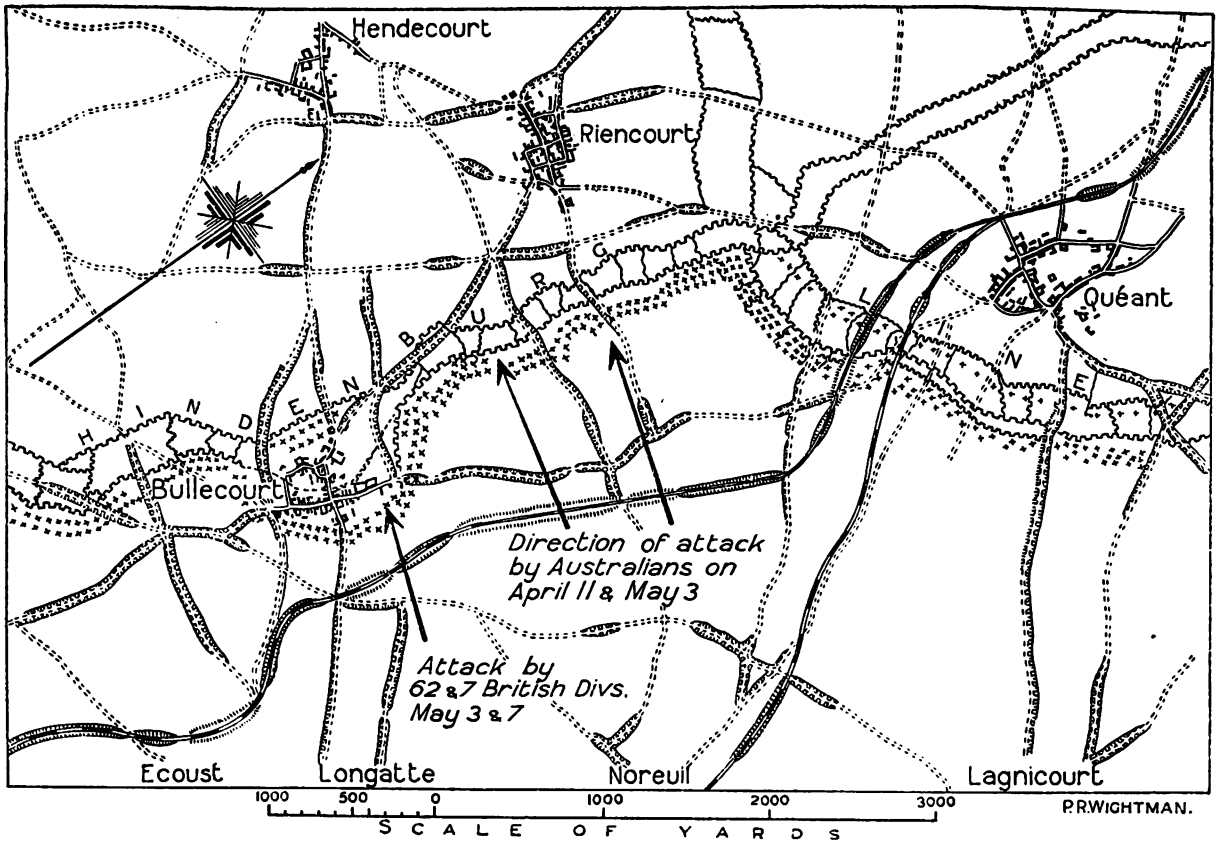

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which had been withdrawn from the line, was constantly practised for this assault.

In order to concentrate opposite Bullecourt sufficient force for the attack, the remainder of the enormous front covered by the 1st Anzac Corps had to be held by a force which was dangerously thin. The 1st Australian Division, considerably below its strength owing to the heavy fighting during the advance from Bapaume, was spread out over the portion of the front from the north of Lagnicourt to the south of Hermies, Of this the Germans obtained news. They also noticed that, in order to act effectively in the northern part of the sector a large number of field-gun batteries had been brought up behind Lagnicourt and Noreuil to a point very little behind the infantry outposts, and with scarcely any other protection.

A raid was instantly planned, and on the morning of the 15th April three German divisions were launched against certain points in this thinly held line. In the southern portion, opposite Boursies, Hermies, and Louverval, after very heavy fighting the enemy were driven back by the outposts of the 1st and 3rd Brigades. In the northern portion near Lagnicourt and Noreuil they broke through in two places. Near Lagnicourt they reached the advanced Australian batteries and blew up or damaged six guns. At Noreuil they came within 300 yards of the head-quarters of the 5th and 6th Australian Infantry Brigades. In each case the posts on the flanks of the intruders held, the men in one case lining both sides of a sunken road and firing both to front and rear. A handful of troops in immediate support were hurried up. The Germans were driven back, losing fairly heavily, and the front was cleared.

On the 3rd May the second great attack upon Bullecourt was launched in conjunction with a wide general assault by the 1st and 3rd Armies along the whole line of the battle of Arras. In very few places did the general assault succeed. But the 6th Australian Infantry Brigade attacking the same objective as before in the Hindenburg Line at Bullecourt, seized both of the first lines of trenches and held them, although isolated and more than half surrounded, against all attacks. During the following night the 5th, 6th, and 7th Brigades having been already involved, the 1st Brigade was thrown in, relieving the 6th ; and during the next day they bombed their

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way down the two trenches of the Hindenburg Line, extending the Australian holding to nearly double its previous extent. This position, still completely isolated and to some extent commanded from the rear on both flanks, was held against repeated counter-attacks. The 7th British Division thrown in on the 7th May gallantly seized the Hindenburg trench upon the left flank, and the 3rd Australian Infantry Brigade effected a junction with them.

For three weeks the Australians retained their position in these trenches against nearly twenty separate counter-attacks. The 2nd, 1st, and 5th Divisions were thrown in, in that order. Though every one of them lost heavily, the line was maintained, and at the end of May, when the struggle eased, was handed over to London troops who had been fighting very gallantly in the same trenches during the last action. The 4th Australian Division, which had been relieved after the first attack on Bullecourt, had been sent north to join the 2nd Anzac Corps, and towards the end of May the three remaining divisions of the 1st Anzac Corps came out to a much-needed rest near Querrieu and Amiens.

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CHAPTER VII

MESSINES AND THE BATTLES OF YPRES, 1917

THE 2nd Anzac Corps had taken no part in the first great offensive on the Somme nor in the Battles of Arras. It remained in Flanders near Armentières. Shortly after the 5th Australian Division was sent to the Somme for the winter, the 3rd, now fully trained, under Major-Gen. John Monash crossed from England and joined the 2nd Anzac Corps. The new Division was put into the line at Houplines, and became almost at once involved in the raiding and counter-raiding by which each side tried to discover the plans and dispositions of the other for the following spring and summer.

The British plans for the summer of 1917 included the taking of the Messines salient and a subsequent heavy thrust in Flanders. Although the co-ordination intended between the Allies broke down at an early stage, the British offensives were delivered in the pre-arranged order, though after considerable delays and under disadvantageous circumstances. In the preparations for the first great blow, at Messines, the 2nd Anzac Corps formed part of the attacking troops.

The Corps at this time consisted of the New Zealand Division, the 3rd Australian Division, and the 25th (British) Division. The 4th Australian Division, brought up from the Somme after the attack upon Bullecourt, was temporarily added to them. The front of the Corps was shifted slightly to the northward, its troops being put into the line north of the River Lys, having originally been to the south of the river. Very little real secrecy preceded the battle of Messines. At this stage in the war it was taken for granted that the vast preparations necessary for any offensive must be visible to an enemy, and that secrecy as to the point to be attacked was therefore unobtainable, though some attempt was made to deceive the enemy as to the precise flanks of the attack, and as to its date.

In the case of the battle of Messines so little did the authorities hope for secrecy that the preliminary bombardment took to a large extent the shape of repeated rehearsals for the

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final bombardment. The village of Messines, and the ' pill-box ' blockhouses of reinforced concrete (which in watery Flanders took the place of the deep dug-outs of the Somme) were methodically destroyed, the British front line being held during the period of bombardment by a mere skeleton garrison of a few sentries, so as to minimize any loss from retaliation. On the front of the 2nd Anzac Corps, the 3rd Australian Division held the extreme right (which was also the right flank of the attack); the New Zealanders held the centre of the Corps front, opposite the village of Messines itself. The 25th Division was on its left. The 4th Australian Division was kept in rear in order to pass through the front reached by the New Zealanders in the first phase of the attack, and to carry the line beyond Messines during the afternoon following the assault.

The battle had been planned with the most untiring care by the staff of the 2nd Army, and this attention to detail descended to the corps and to the divisions. By the 3rd Australian Division raised maps of the battle-ground had been laid down on the surface of the ground behind the lines, and officers, N.C.O.'s, and privates alike had studied them, picking out their various objectives and the tracks which led to them. The advance was strictly limited. Never in the history of the British Army was so much previous thought devoted to any offensive as to this ' set piece ' of Messines. The German also had plenty of time and notice to perfect his plans. He was not, however, aware that the assault had also been prepared for by the digging beneath his lines of nineteen deep mines, although some of the mines were known to him. That at Hill 60, which had been dug by the Canadians, was at this time in charge of No. 2 Australian Tunnelling Company, while No. 1 Company was in charge of similar mines on the front attacked farther south. In some of them the miners had for weeks been working with all their energy to checkmate the German tunnellers who knew of their existence and were attempting to countermine them.

On the night of the 6th June 1917, the eve of the battle, the various columns of assaulting troops marched up from the rear along the carefully marked tracks to reach their ' jumping-off ' positions about an hour before the assault at dawn. On this night the German, who knew the attack was a matter of

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days if not of hours, began about midnight to drench with gas shells the whole area through which the troops of the 2nd Anzac Corps had to make their approach. The shelling lasted without intermission until the moment when the attack was launched. The infantry making their way along the tracks over Hill 63 or through Ploegsteert Wood had to put on their gas helmets, which made them almost blind in the dark. The rate of the march became slower. A large number of men were gassed and could not go on. At 3.10 a.m., the hour for the attack, some of the platoons of the 3rd Australian Division were only just reaching the front line, but they were in time to go straight on and carry out their part in it.

The attack was immediately preceded by the explosion of nineteen huge mines beneath the German front line. These were at intervals averaging about half a mile. A great part of the trenches was entirely destroyed by them, and an overpowering blow was struck at the morale of the German front-line troops. There was practically no resistance during the first phase of the advance. The New Zealanders made their way up the hill and through the ruined village of Messines, and the 3rd Australian Division on their right advanced across and south of the small river Douve (the 40th—Tasmanian—Battalion carrying portable bridges which were laid within a few minutes of the start). As the assault reached the limits of its first phase, however, the German supports and local reserves resisted stubbornly in concrete dug-outs and the fortified ruins of farms. For the first time the Australian infantry was faced with the problem of taking blockhouses or small redoubts in which occasional machine guns had escaped the barrage and had been left as isolated points of resistance in the way of the advancing infantry. South-east of Messines, where the road known as 'Hun's Walk' crossed the German second-line trenches, there were several points of this nature, which, when the second phase of the advance was begun at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, caused great trouble near the point of junction of the 3rd and 4th Australian Divisions.

The plan of the second phase was that a certain number of fresh divisions, which had not been employed in the first, should about midday make their way to a starting-point slightly in front of the line reached by the infantry in the morning. The barrage which was protecting the advanced line

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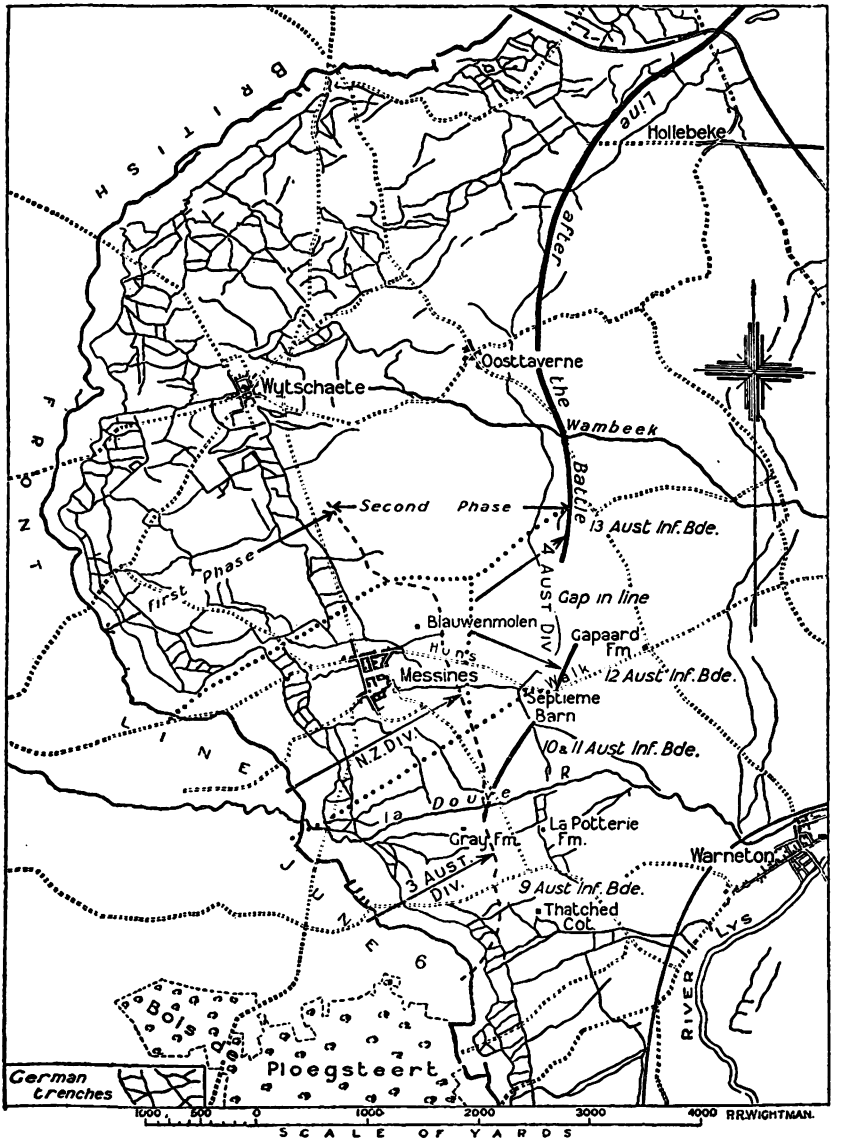

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would protect these divisions also, and they would lie behind it until an early hour in the afternoon. Then the bombardment would increase, and would move forward across country to the German second line ; and the new wave of infantry would advance behind it to that, the final objective of the battle.

Great difficulty was found in laying out the flags and tapes for the starting-point of these ' leap-frogging ' divisions. But before 3 p.m. the 4th Australian Division was in its place, with its left directed upon ' Blauwenmolen ', a prominent mound and landmark beyond Messines. On its right the second phase of the advance was to be undertaken by the 3rd Australian Division, which had also undertaken the first advance. On its left there was to be a British Division. But this division had farther to come than any of the others and its flank was not in sight at the moment when the attack started in the afternoon.

As the battle-front northward of the 4th Australian Division, so far as it was visible, was not covered by any troops, the young officer, who by the wounding of his colonel and the death of certain others had been left in charge of the left flank of the 4th, swung his men to the left or north-eastwards so as to cover the front of the advance for half a mile northward of the position where the Australian flank was intended to be. The flank of the 4th Division reached the objective at the valley of the Wambeek, not far from the village of Oosttaverne, which was the centre of the whole battle-front. The tanks which were working with it gave some assistance in this advance until they became bogged in the mud of the Wambeek valley, when their crews climbed out and brought their machine guns into the trench with the Australians. On the right the 3rd Division had also reached most of its objective, although on its left flank, next to the right of the 4th, there existed a position of uncertainty which led to the artillery barrage of some of their own guns being put down behind the trenches occupied by the infantry. The infantry was withdrawn a space, and it was not until the next morning that the situation here became clear and the 3rd and 4th Divisions joined one another in their objective.

In the meantime the swinging of the 4th Australian Division's flank to the northward (to cover the ground left vacant on their left) had caused a gap to open up in the centre of its front. While the left brigade (the 13th) swung north-east, the right

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(the 12th) went straight on. Each reached the second enemy trench system and held on there, but there were Germans in this second line between them. These Germans occupied several concrete blockhouses and gun-shelters in the second line, and were in communication with their own troops in rear of them. They fought stubbornly and were still there on the morning after the first attack.

The position at nightfall on the 7th June was that, owing to the spreading of the 4th Division's front, two Australian Divisions were holding half of the whole battle-line of Messines. During the days which followed British troops were brought up who relieved the left of the 4th Australian Division in its extended front line, whereupon the 4th again attacked from both flanks the remnant of Germans in its front line, and after heavy fighting drove them out. The 3rd Division pushed forward its front by degrees towards the farms on the rising ground which looked down upon the River Lys. The German third line was not attacked. The battle of Messines had been a complete and uninterrupted success up to the attainment of its limited objective, and there it stopped. During the following months the ground which had been taken from the enemy was thoroughly re-fortified. Beyond Messines itself this work was carried out by the 3rd Australian Division in one energetic programme lasting nineteen days, during a break in the weather which brought about conditions almost similar to those of the Somme winter.

Messines having been taken, the strong German salient which had projected into the British line south of the Ypres salient had disappeared. On the 31st July the great British offensive in Flanders began. A German attack at Lombartzyde on the 10th July had driven the British from their bridge-head at the mouth of the Yser, and disorganized some of the arrangements for the approaching blow. In that attack part of the 2nd Australian Tunnelling Company, which was working upon mines underneath the German strong points north of the Yser, was cut off and a few of its men were captured in the tunnels. Amongst the troops brought into this sector immediately afterwards was some Australian field artillery and one of the Australian siege batteries was involved in heavy fighting. But no British offensive could now be undertaken or even effectively threatened from Nieuport across the Yser. The

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Australian artillery, together with a great part of the gun-power of the British Army, was concentrated in July in the lowlands about Ypres in order to prepare for the blow which was to be delivered at this point.

No Australian, Canadian, or New Zealand infantry took part in the first phase of the Battles of Ypres, 1917. The infantry of the 3rd Australian Division made a small attack on the first morning south-east of Messines, and the New Zealand infantry on their flank took the little village of Basseville on the Lys. But the main battle-front at Ypres was on this occasion held by British troops alone. Amongst the artillery supporting them was that of all the Australian divisions except the 3rd, the guns of which were supporting their own infantry immediately to the south. The bombardment which preceded the great assault of the 31st July was the heaviest ever known up to that time. The guns stretched across country in ranks, almost wheel to wheel, and during the two weeks previous to the attack the artillery, crowded as it was behind the shredded remains of every hedge or copse, in the shelter of every dyke or swelling in the ground, suffered severely from the German gunfire. The casualties amongst gunners and drivers at this time were far heavier than in the infantry.

On that morning, shortly after the assault was launched, a proportion of the field artillery had to limber up and to advance to positions about the old British front line in the salient from which they could continue to cover the advance of the troops into the country farther ahead. The infantry which was being covered by the guns of the 1st and 2nd Australian Division was on the right of the attack, and the very strong German positions about 'Stirling Castle', 'Glencorse Wood', and 'Inverness Copse' held up its advance, which finally came to a standstill far short of the point intended. The guns following it, emerging into the direct view of the Germans as they crested the rising ground immediately behind the old British front line, came under heavy shell-fire. They and the British batteries next to them continued to fire, but orders had eventually to be given that the guns in these advanced positions should not be manned, their emplacements being too advanced for use at the stage then reached.

The advance of the 31st July had been heralded to the

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enemy by preparations similar to those which preceded Messines. The German concrete fortifications in the Ypres area were very strong. Moreover, the rain which had been threatening descended on the very night of the battle, and for a fortnight Flanders was drenched with a deluge such as is seldom seen in summer. Even in the undamaged country behind the lines the roads were flooded. The shattered battle-field of Ypres became a morass in which the British infantry, flung into one attack after another, could make scarcely any progress. The advances were almost invariably successful in parts. But the Germans in this phase of the war relied for their defence not on the front-line troops, who merely split and partially disorganized the attack, but upon their counter-attack divisions. These were kept in close reserve to be immediately thrown in against the British advance after it arrived at its objective and before it was organized. In the appalling conditions of August 1917 in this particular area these counter-tactics had considerable success. The British advance after a series of costly attacks was still held up before Glencorse Wood and Inverness Copse, although in the centre and on the left of the battle-front the progress had been greater.

It was at this stage that the infantry of the 1st Anzac Corps was brought up to Ypres. The field of battle was allowed to dry during the earlier part of September. But on the 20th a heavy attack was launched from the southern half of the battle-front in which the 1st and 2nd Australian Divisions for the first time carried out an assault together. It was directed at the knotty points which had so far been much the most obstinate impediment to the advance—Glencorse Wood, Inverness Copse, and the foul swamp of Nonne Bosschen.

That morning, at the break of day, as part of a general attack in which nine other divisions were engaged, behind a creeping barrage the like of which they had never seen or heard before, the 1st and 2nd Australian Divisions attacked. The assault behind such a rampart of shell-fire, and with the conditions comparatively dry, was child's play. Here and there in a concrete blockhouse a German garrison, half stunned by the bombardment, attempted to offer some resistance, and was killed or captured. One nest of 'pill boxes' in Glencorse Wood itself and another at Black Watch Corner were the scenes of some fighting. But both divisions reached their

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goals without great difficulty. The main anxiety of the High Command was that each objective, when reached, should be fortified, so that when the German counter-attack was delivered, it could be resisted.

Men and officers had learned their work well, and after every advance which the Australians made in the earlier stages of their fighting at Ypres, the objectives were fortified with great rapidity as soon as they were reached. On the 20th September the defences dug consisted mainly of connected fire- and communication-trenches with a certain amount of barbed wire in front of them. But it was found that the German aeroplanes, which after the actual advance were constantly in the air, could too readily direct the fire of their artillery on to such a continuous line. In later advances the troops in the front line and their supports occupied a designedly irregular line of shell-holes and fortified them. This position was less easy for the German to discover, and when discovered was difficult effectively to bombard.

The advance of the 20th September having been made, the infantry settled themselves with determination to meet the answering blow which they had been told was inevitable. But to most of those who were waiting for it no sign of this counter-stroke ever came. The Germans were reported moving forward on the farther edge of the crest near Polygon Wood and elsewhere. But such was the tempest of shell-fire which descended upon them that scarcely any recognizable counter-attack survived. As the Germans located the positions reached by their enemies an annoying shell-fire was laid down upon the garrisons of the new line. But through the zone of artillery fire, which at every point screened the line in its advanced position, no German infantry could approach. The 1st and 2nd Divisions ' consolidated ' their positions, and were relieved in them by the 4th and 5th Australian Divisions which, in conjunction with the British troops on either flank, were to make a further advance on the morning of the 26th September.

The 1st and 2nd Divisions had carried the line forward across a portion of the high ground east of Ypres. This is curved like a sickle, haft downwards, the concave edge facing Ypres ; and the haft was the only portion of the highland so far reached by the advance. The Australians were now astride of the blade where it joins the handle, and on low minor spurs

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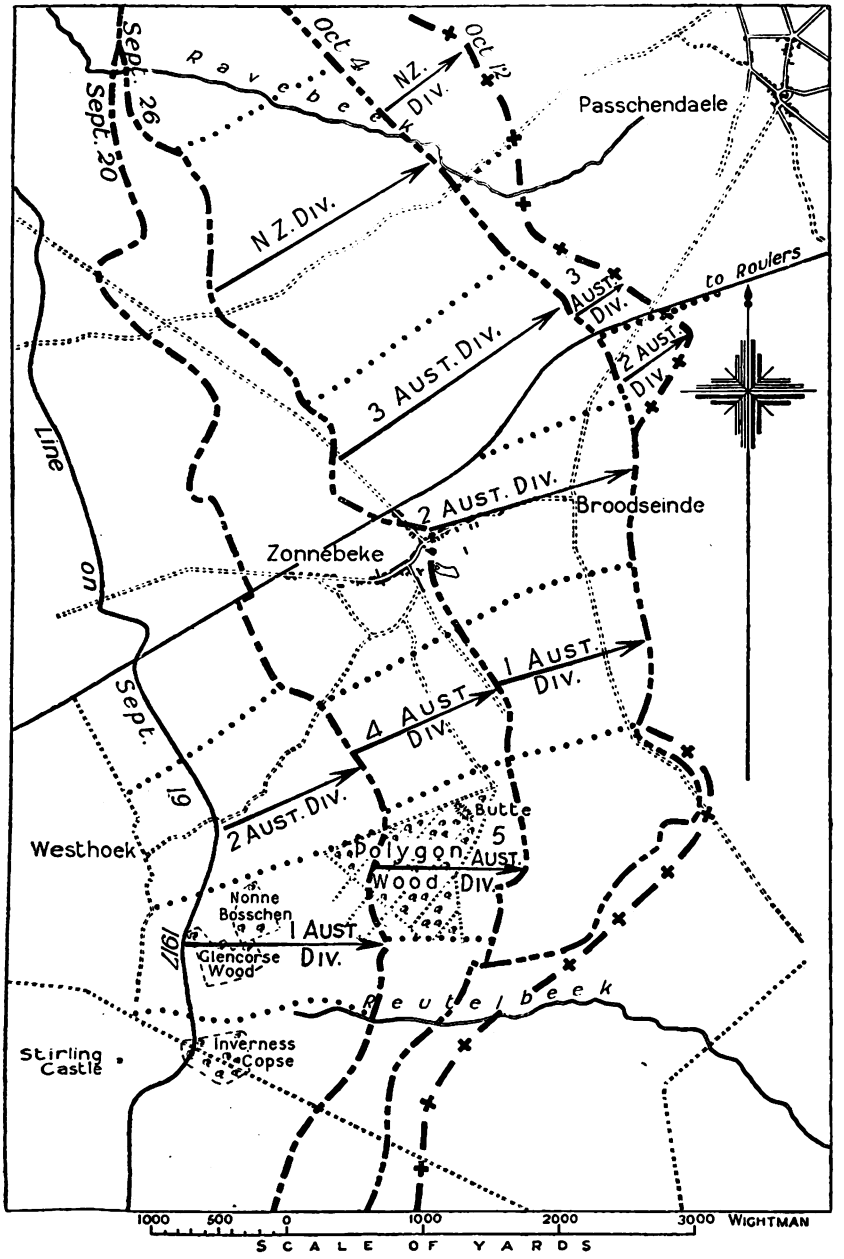

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of rising ground leading from that position northward. On the high ground represented by the handle, south of the Australian position, and on the low ground looking up towards the semi-circle of hills represented by the blade, were British divisions.

It so happened that the 25th of September, the day before the projected British attack, was that fixed by the enemy for an assault on the British position immediately south of the Australian flank. This attack was covered by a greater number of guns than had perhaps ever before been used by the Germans on so small a front. The fire of this artillery was concentrated all day upon the little valley of the Reutelbeek. The extreme flank of the 5th Australian Division, which overlooked the valley, was involved in this fire and in the German attack which drove up the valley after it. The Australian flank held, although the carrying parties and other troops preparing for the next morning's attack suffered heavily. The British troops, who had to stand the full force of the attack and of the bombardment, were driven in, and the enemy obtained a hold on the slopes of the Reutelbeek well behind the line from which the attack of the following morning was intended to start.

It became a very serious question whether the assault of the 26th September could be delivered. The Germans were in possession of part of the ground on which the British troops on the right of the Australians were to have formed for the attack, and the 15th Brigade of the 5th Australian Division, which was to assault along the crest of the ridge at Polygon Wood, had been fighting during the whole of the 25th and had lost many men. The weather, however, was fine, and it was decided that the attack must go forward. Part of the 8th Brigade was therefore hurried to the starting-point in order to take over a portion of the task of the 15th Brigade, and at dawn, behind a magnificent barrage, which moved ahead of it like a rolling barrier of dust, the assault was launched.

The 4th and 5th Australian Divisions carried out their instructions to the letter. Despite the fact that the British arrangements on their right were entirely dislocated, the 8th and 15th Brigades reached their objectives in Polygon Wood, and the 14th moving beside them seized the Butte—the mound which rises at the farther end of the shattered scrub. The 15th Brigade, fighting without artillery from blockhouse

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to blockhouse, helped the British troops on their right to regain part of the ground which the Germans had won. Although they were receiving fire from behind their right flank, the men of the 8th and 15th held fast to their newly gained positions under heavy shell-fire; and the expected German counter-attack, when it developed, was utterly defeated.

The British front before Ypres had now advanced to a point where it faced the northern curve of the sickle-shaped heights; the haft and the lower portion of the blade which joins the haft being now entirely within the British and Australian lines. The last advance had brought the 4th Australian Division to the edge of the ruins of Zonnebeke, which had been taken in the fighting of the 26th by the 3rd (British) Division. Facing the Australians, at a thousand yards distance, lay the main ridge on which had once been the village of Broodseinde. It was growing late in the year, but the weather still held fine. It was decided that the next step should be to seize the Broodseinde ridge and the remaining heights south of it.

The tremendous bombardments of the Ypres fighting inevitably wrecked beforehand the battle-field over which the troops had to advance. The rigid system then adhered to, as a result of the expensive disasters of the past, was that the infantry must on no account advance beyond the range of its guns. So long as it had the barrage or apron of fire ahead, it was safe against German counter-attack, and the German was faced by the demoralizing certainty that, before he approached the British line, he would be utterly crushed by artillery fire. But the system also involved this drawback, that before the advancing army could deliver a further attack or advance a yard, it was necessary laboriously to make roads over impassable ground in order to help forward the light and heavy artillery and its ammunition. Light and broad-gauge railways had to be pushed over the cratered battle-field. All these preparations were constantly watched by German aeroplanes which, during this period, except at the actual moment of attack, had the air as free to them as it was to the British aeroplanes. Roads, railways, and battery positions thus found were heavily shelled, and during no period of the war did the artillery suffer so heavily in comparison with the infantry.

However, with the weather still fine there was not any great trouble in road-making. Even the heavy guns could be dragged

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along unmade wagon tracks between the shell-holes. By the 3rd October preparations for a heavier attack than any yet delivered, with the exception of that of the 31st July, had been completed, but the wet weather had already begun again.

The main objective of the great effort of the 4th October was the Broodseinde ridge. For its purpose the 1st Anzac Corps was moved slightly northwards, and the 2nd Anzac Corps was brought in on its left. These two were to form the centre of the attacking force. On the Australian right the 7th (British) Division (the same which had fought so well beside the Australians at Bullecourt) was given the task, with other troops, of taking the remainder of the high land beyond Polygon Wood. To the north, beyond the flank of the 2nd Anzac Corps, British divisions were attacking over a considerable front. The Australians had in the line—on the right the 1st Australian Division, and next to that the 2nd, both of which belonged to the 1st Anzac Corps. On the left of the 2nd was the 3rd Australian Division, and adjoining the left of that the New Zealand Division—both of the 2nd Anzac Corps. This was the first occasion on which more than two Anzac divisions had been placed next to one another in an assault, the authorities not realizing until then—indeed until long afterwards—what it meant to Australians and New Zealanders to be fighting beside their countrymen.

Half an hour before the attack was to be delivered there descended upon the troops of the 1st Australian Division who were lying out waiting for the order to advance, a heavy German bombardment. The same bombardment fell almost as severely on the battalions of the 2nd, deployed on the left of the 1st, and to some extent on certain of the rear companies of the 3rd Australian Division. On the line of the 1st and 2nd Brigades of the 1st Division the shells and trench-mortar bombs fell murderously. For half an hour the waiting men and their officers had to endure this shell-fire without any movement. Then the great bombardment which gave the signal for the British attack burst forth, and the assaulting line rose and moved forward.

At the same instant the German barrage, which had been falling upon the Australian troops, lengthened. The Australians advancing found before them a line of Germans also scrambling to its knees. Unknown to each other both sides

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AUSTRALIAN INFANTRY AT BROODSEINDE RIDGE

4 October 1917

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had planned an attack for the same morning, and for the same hour. The two lines of infantry faced one another for an instant, and then the Australian advance rolled on through the broken remnant of the Germans as a tidal wave might sweep through a field of corn. In the distance were Germans running back through the barrage and over the Broodseinde heights. In the foreground the line of the 1st and part of the 2nd Divisions was passing through the grouped trench mortars which had been brought up to cover the German attack and through the debris—dead and dying—of the first German line. On the Broodseinde heights some of the enemy head-quarters and artillery observation staffs fought stubbornly in the concrete blockhouses from which for years past the Germans had looked down on the country occupied by the British as upon an open map. But both Australians and the 7th Division on their right went through their own protective barrage in pursuit of the running Germans. A further advance was made in another phase of the attack down the far side of the Broodseinde ridge until the command of the eastern slope was gained. This was stoutly resisted and desultory fighting lasted for some days.

The battle of Broodseinde was held by many at the time to be the most complete and crushing success which the British Army had up to that day obtained during the war. Ypres was freed in one blow from the German observation, which since 1914 had made the place a graveyard of the Allies. The battle ended with the British line still protected by the apron of its gun-fire lining the Broodseinde heights and most of the semi-circle of highland east of Ypres. The Germans still held the upper half of the sickle blade from Passchendaele northwards. The staff of the General Head-quarters and of the 2nd British Army determined that the time had now come when, after a further successful advance, the British cavalry might attempt to break through the German lines. The occasion of this break through was to be the next general attack—that upon the village and heights of Passchendaele.

The New Zealanders and the 3rd Australian Division on the 4th October had carried the British front to within three-quarters of a mile of ruined Passchendaele. But for a successful attack it was determined to approach closer to the village and obtain positions still further forward for the guns. Accordingly

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an attack was planned for the 9th October, the object of which was not to seize the Passchendaele heights, but to obtain a 'jumping-off' line closer to them from which they could be more readily attacked. In the centre of this advance was placed a new Territorial division from England—the 66th. Upon its right the 2nd Australian Division was to advance.

Before this attack the weather had completely broken. The battle-field of Ypres became one huge morass like that of the Somme in the winter of 1916. The lightest gun could barely be dragged forward to its advanced position. The making of plank roads had to be hastened. Duckboard tracks were laid for the infantry. Despite all this, so incomplete were the arrangements that when the bombardment opened for the attack, part of the 66th Division was still (by no fault of its men) far from its starting-point, plunging ahead as best it could through the mud. The 5th and 6th Brigades of the 2nd Australian Division, almost worn out by continuous work since before the battle of the 4th, struggled across the valley beyond Broodseinde and round the shattered woods upon its nearer slope. They repelled the German counter-attack when it came, but for fear of the barrage of their own gunners, who did not know their position, most of the advanced posts withdrew, and only part of the ground won was held. The advanced line which was to be seized by the 66th Division preparatory to the next attack upon Passchendaele was not occupied. Thus the main attack, planned for the 12th October, had to be delivered from the line reached upon the 4th.

In the attack upon the 12th October three Anzac Divisions occupied the line from its centre to its right. The New Zealand Division was the most northerly of these, with its objective north of Passchendaele. On its southern flank the 3rd Australian was sent forward against the village of Passchendaele itself. On the right the 4th Australian Division was to advance and make a flank from the front already obtained where the Ypres–Roulers railway pierced the Broodseinde ridge and the hills beyond it. The attack was to be covered—and was nominally covered—by almost as heavy a force of artillery as any of the previous assaults.

But the bombardment which broke out at dawn on the 12th October was very different from those which preceded it.

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Though batteries might be nominally in place, many of their guns were bogged. Ammunition had been brought up through the mud-field with extraordinary difficulty, and the tracks were lined thickly with dead ammunition mules, shot where they stuck, and their burdens. On the wet ground the shells made only a quickly vanishing smoke, and the curtain of dust which had rolled before the line advancing on the 26th September did not protect the infantry struggling through the heavy mud on the 12th October. The New Zealand infantry on the left of the 3rd Australian Division—infantry as well trained and dashing as existed in the world—came up against a thick entanglement of unbroken wire, and simply had to lie down in front of it while the barrage passed ahead over the hill and out of sight. The 3rd Australian Division, striving in the mud to keep up with the barrage, found the Germans firing upon it with rifles and machine guns from behind its left flank. The 10th Infantry Brigade was thus held up in the bottomless mud of the Ravebeek, while the 9th Brigade, advancing under rather better conditions on the crest, found itself isolated on the outskirts of Passchendaele, and was withdrawn by order of its officers. The 4th Australian Division which had advanced with heavy fighting south of the Ypres–Roulers railway found none of the 3rd Division on its flank, a gap having opened between the two from the very first moment of the advance. Being partially surrounded, the 4th Division had to withdraw, and the line of battle opposite Passchendaele on the 12th October 1917 finished exactly where it began. British, New Zealanders, and Australians had alike suffered heavily. An exceedingly ambitious advance had been planned and not a foot of valuable ground had been gained.

The 1st and 2nd Anzac Corps were now worn out. The Australian troops alone had suffered nearly 30,000 casualties since their entry into the Battles of Ypres, 1917. But from the point of view of the whole battle-front, it was deemed necessary to maintain pressure upon the enemy in this sector, and it was decided that the Passchendaele Ridge was still worth the cost involved in taking it even under winter conditions. A comparatively fresh corps, the Canadian, was then brought up to undertake the work, and the task which had been set before the Australians, New Zealanders, and British in one big attempt was now divided into three stages to be undertaken piecemeal.

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With the aid of some costly covering attacks by British troops farther south, the Canadian Corps carried through this offensive with its invariable thoroughness and gallantry in the terrible conditions of the autumn, and the Passchendaele Ridge was taken. In the earlier of these assaults the 1st Anzac Corps undertook certain subsidiary advances upon the Canadian flank. But the main work of the two Anzac Corps in the battle was finished. In November the 1st Anzac Corps was withdrawn to hold the comparatively quiet front of Wytschaete and Messines. The 3rd Australian Division was detached from the 2nd Anzac Corps in order to join the 1st, in which all five Australian infantry divisions were now concentrated. The name of the 1st Anzac Corps (under General Birdwood) was changed to that of 'The Australian Corps'. The 2nd (remaining under General Godley) became the XXIInd Corps of the British Army.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE GERMAN OFFENSIVE, 1918

THE winter of 1917–18 was occupied with preparations for the great offensive which it was known the Germans would launch in the spring of 1918. The Russian Army was no longer to be reckoned with owing to the Bolshevik revolution, the Italian front had been grievously shaken by the battle of Caporetto, and the Germans were at liberty to concentrate against either the British or the French or both a greater proportion of their strength than had been possible since the first days of the war. A heavy programme of fortification was undertaken along the British front. During the greater part of the winter the Australian Corps was constructing line behind line of trenches and building reinforced concrete blockhouses on the ground in front of Hill 63 and Mount Kemmel and on the old battle-field of Messines.

In addition to the infantry divisions there were in France three tunnelling companies from Australia, several railway companies, two siege batteries of artillery, certain Army Service Corps units, three General Hospitals, three Casualty Clearing Stations, some Light Horse, cyclists, and several other bodies; and during the autumn of 1917 and spring of 1918 there appeared on the Western Front for the first time squadrons of the Australian Flying Corps. The 1st Squadron was fighting in Palestine. The 2nd, which was first of them upon the Western Front, took part in the battle of Cambrai in November, and greatly distinguished itself in ten days of heavy fighting in stormy weather. By the spring of 1918 the 2nd and 4th Squadrons (of scouting aeroplanes) and the 3rd (of observing aeroplanes) were on the front. The scout squadrons were treated as 'army' troops, and only occasionally fought over their own infantry. But the 3rd was finally attached as 'corps squadron' to the Australian Corps.

The defence lines at Messines had been finished and were held by the Australian Corps in constant expectation of attack when the Germans, on the 21st March 1918, delivered their

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mighty blow against the 5th and 3rd British Armies from the neighbourhood of St. Quentin to that of Cambrai. Within four days the British line was being pressed back over the ground on which the Australians had originally advanced beyond Bapaume (full of well-remembered names—Bullecourt, Lagnicourt, Vaulx) to the old battle-field of the Somme. A crossing of the Somme was made by the Germans near Péronne, and the 2nd Australian Tunnelling Company, which was with the retiring British Army, found itself recrossing the old battle-field at Le Sars, Pozières, and Albert. The German thrust was making its swiftest headway at the point where the French and British Armies joined, immediately south of the Somme, and both north and south of that river was fast driving towards Amiens.

At this time the Australian Corps was holding an extended line from north of Armentières to Messines, but two of its divisions, the 3rd and 4th, were resting. The Canadian Corps was near Arras, where attack was even more probable than at Messines, and where it was urgently necessary that the line should be held. The 3rd and 4th Australian Divisions were ordered south with all possible speed. On the 25th March, as their first troops reached Doullens, they were diverted hurriedly to a point near Hébuterne to meet a force of Germans which was said to have broken through there. In Doullens at this moment the famous conference was meeting which decided upon the creation of a single command upon the Western Front—a conference of M. Poincaré, M. Clemenceau, General Foch, Lord Milner, and Sir Douglas Haig. The 4th Australian Infantry Brigade was detached from its Division (the 4th) and hastened to the threatened point, where the Germans in due course developing their attack were on three or four following days beaten back with loss. Meantime, the New Zealand and several British divisions were moving swiftly into the line south of this point. The remainder of the 4th Australian Division pressed on by a forced march to Millencourt and Henencourt, near Albert; and there, finishing their march in open formation on the battle-field itself, barred the advance of the Germans, meeting them near the River Ancre, at the village of Dernancourt, and relieving some of the exhausted Scots of the 9th Division and other troops who were holding the railway embankment there.

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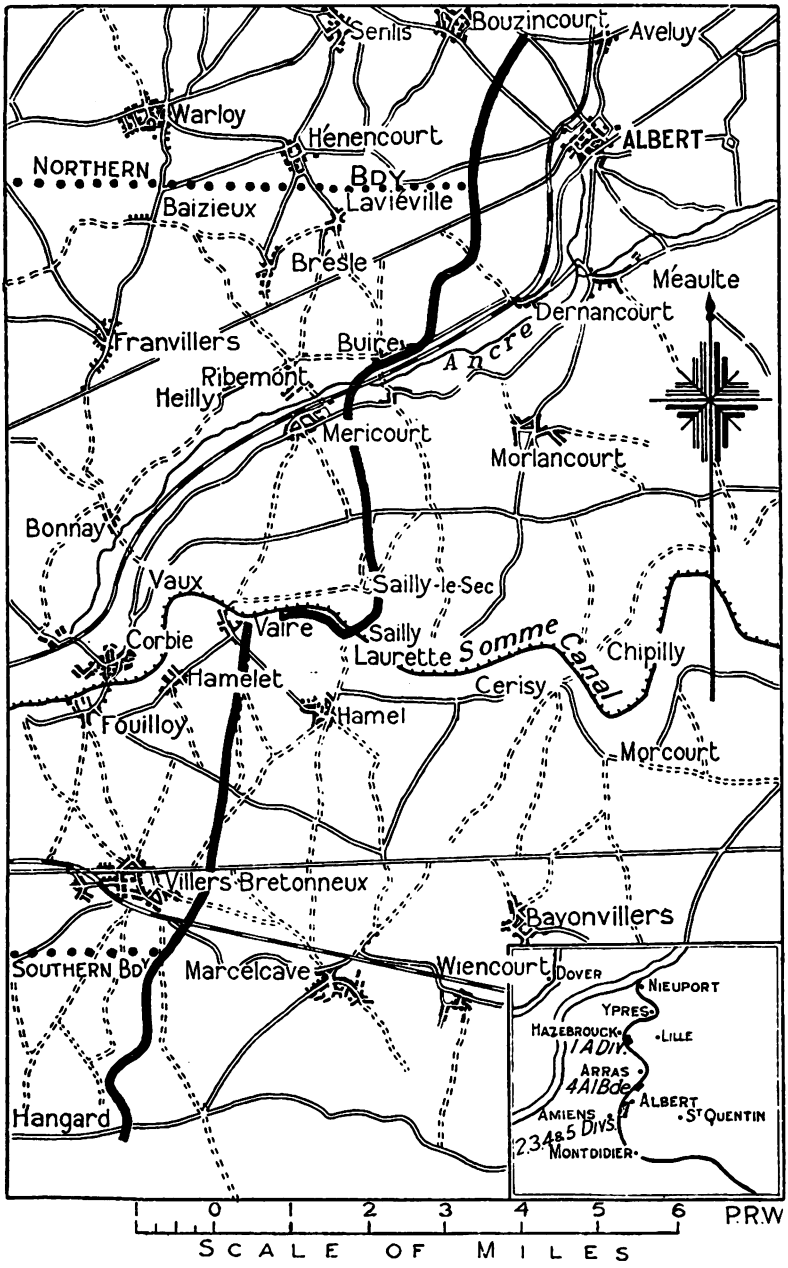

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Meanwhile the 3rd Australian Division had been hurried on to the tongue of land between the Ancre and the Somme, twelves miles north-east of Amiens. The line which it formed across this peninsula on the 26th March was immediately afterwards advanced to Treux and the neighbourhood of Morlancourt. The enemy's advance came up against it and was stayed.

The Germans in several fruitless attacks tried to continue their advance through this barrier both at Dernancourt and Morlancourt, losing considerably without making an inch of ground. South of the Somme, however, they were still driving before them the tired remnants of the 5th British Army and the few French divisions which had been hurried to the British flank. On the 30th March by a formidable attack south of the Somme they forced the British from Hamel. The British cavalry, which again and again came to the assistance of the infantry in these days and fought an incessant rear-guard action, could not prevent the enemy from pouring into Warfusée and Marcelcave and Hangard Wood.

The situation south of the Somme was at this moment very serious. Any further advance would bring the Germans to the small town of Villers Bretonneux, lying on the edge of the high ground a few miles due east of Amiens, from the western outskirts of which every part of the city is plainly visible. The British troops in that area were worn out. Accordingly a brigade, the 9th, was detached from the 3rd Australian Division and was hurried south to Cachy, where it adjoined the French flank. In conjunction with the British cavalry the 9th Brigade was pushed forward and regained a part of Hangard Wood. The 35th Australian Infantry Battalion was then detached from the brigade and brought back a few miles to the north to make and garrison a support line immediately in rear of the British troops protecting Villers Bretonneux. Here it was presently, in its turn, supported by the 33rd Battalion.

The Germans determined to make a final attempt to reach Amiens by delivering two converging assaults, one from the direction of Albert and Dernancourt in order to gain the high ground at Laviéville on the Amiens–Albert road, the other from Warfusée against Villers Bretonneux along the Amiens–Péronne road. These attacks were, probably because of an insufficiency of artillery, planned to be delivered upon succes-

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sive days. On the 5th April the Germans launched the first, a formidable operation, against the British divisions holding the line in front of Villers Bretonneux. They drove in the line of the 14th Division north of the Amiens–Péronne road. But the 35th Australian Infantry Battalion south of the road held. Three times it was forced to retire owing to the Germans threatening its rear, but each time it took up a new position in front of the town and threw back its flank to meet the enemy who had penetrated there. The 33rd, together with the British cavalry coming up on the north of the road, established again a firm line in front of Villers Bretonneux.

This attack appeared to have ended for the day when at about 4.30 p.m. the Germans, after a heavy fire of high explosive and gas shell, attacked the British line to the south of the Australian position. The line gave way, and the right of the Australians, outflanked, gave with it. Part of the 33rd and of the 35th held on the forward edge of Villers Bretonneux, but the rest of the front south of the Albert–Amiens road appeared to have been finally driven into retreat, and there even seemed little hope of saving Amiens when the 36th Australian Battalion under Colonel Milne, with a company of the 35th and some troops of a London battalion who had been in reserve in Villers Bretonneux, were thrown over the edge of the hill south of the town to meet the Germans. The sight of these determined men, with bayonets flashing, coming over the rise a few hundred yards ahead of them, shook the German infantry, and they stopped or turned and fled. Milne's line held on until it was well beyond the outskirts of the village. During the night the 34th Battalion also was brought up and the line further advanced and strengthened.

On the 5th April, before dawn, the other of the projected converging assaults was delivered. The Germans with three divisions attacked the two brigades of the 4th Australian Division (its other brigade was at Hébuterne), which were holding the line before Dernancourt and Albert. By a murderous bombardment with artillery and trench mortars they succeeded in forcing their way part of the distance up the hill, at the point of junction of the 12th and 13th. The fighting was bitter all day, and by the middle of the afternoon the German infantry had reached a position which seriously threatened the rear of the 13th Brigade. A gallant

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counter-attack delivered at this moment by the reserves of both brigades and part of their firing line drove the Germans half-way down the slope which they had gained, and ended the battle. The enemy did not retain an inch of useful ground.

It was these two stubborn fights which finally caused the German to abandon his intention of taking Amiens. The British line south of the Somme was not controlled by the Australian Corps but by the 3rd British Army Corps. The 9th Australian Infantry Brigade was, however, retained in front of Villers Bretonneux, on the line which it had regained. The 5th Brigade was in the same manner detached from the 2nd Australian Division and put into the line between the 9th Brigade and the French ; and the 15th Australian Infantry Brigade was similarly detached from the 5th Australian Division and thrown in north of the 9th Brigade, from Villers Bretonneux to the Somme. The 5th Australian Division was now put into control of the area immediately south of the Somme, and the 4th Division before Albert was relieved by the 2nd and brought into a quieter sector south of the 3rd, where it guarded the Somme bridges. The 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th Australian Divisions were thus, at the end of the first week in April, strung out in a thin line before Amiens, with their third brigade in each case taken from them and tacked on to the line apart from its own division. The only reserve to this long drawn out line of the Australian Corps was the 1st Australian Division, which was at this moment arriving from the Messines front—the last of the Australian formations to come south.

On the 9th April, when the battalions of the 1st Brigade of the 1st Australian Division were about to enter the line near Albert, the Germans after a heavy bombardment broke through the Portuguese front south of Armentières and through the British troops at Messines which the Australian troops had just left. Here the Australian divisions had been replaced by others which had been heavily dealt with in the German offensive, which were short of men and machine guns, which had been reinforced by recruits who were barely more than children, and which had not yet recovered from the weariness and the tremendous shock of the retreat. The German thrust was on a dangerously wide front and made headway. A stubborn British division at Givenchy, the 55th, held its ground and prevented the break from extending to

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the south, and the 9th Division fought most stoutly at Wytschaete. But during the two following days the Germans took Armentières, crossed the Lys, and were clearly heading swiftly for the town of Hazebrouck, in French Flanders, the most important road and railway centre behind this section of the British line. The 29th Division, which had fought beside the Australians in Gallipoli, the 4th Brigade of the Guards, and other fine troops were sustaining the pressure as best they could, but were becoming worn almost to the breaking-point. The 1st Australian Division, reinforcing the front before Amiens, was on the 11th April sent back hurriedly to the north. It was thrown in before Hazebrouck and ordered to dig a reserve line of trenches. On the 12th April, before the day was out, this reserve defence system had become the front line, and the 1st Division found itself across the path of the advancing Germans.

Here, as before Amiens, the enemy resuming their advance now found himself confronted by an impenetrable barrier. Several attempts to push through it were easily defeated with loss, and from the 17th April onwards the German directed his thrust further northwards towards Mount Kemmel, the summit of which he subsequently took.

The Australian divisions in France were thus, by the 12th April, opposing the German advance both on the north of the British front and on the south of it. In the south the Germans made one, and only one, more serious attempt to push through the British line near Amiens; and this thrust seems to have been a local enterprise rather than any part of a large plan to capture Amiens. As the Australian Corps were holding such an extended line with practically no reserves, it had been determined to restore to it the troops garrisoning the front in the 3rd (British) Corps area before Villers Bretonneux. On the 22nd April these had been relieved by the 8th (British) Division, but the 14th Brigade of the 5th Australian Division still held the line immediately north of Villers Bretonneux, south of the Somme. On the 24th April the Germans in front of this position attacked, and for the first time used tanks in considerable numbers. The British line was broken. The Germans advanced through Villers Bretonneux, and into the Bois l'Abbé beyond it. The 14th Australian Brigade on the important height of Hill 104, immediately

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north of Villers Bretonneux, held their ground and flung back a flank to prevent being enveloped. But although counter-attack after counter-attack was thrown by the 3rd British Corps against the enemy in the Bois l'Abbé, these efforts had only varying success, and the Germans remained in occupation of half the wood and of Villers Bretonneux itself.

The situation was very serious when, at about 3 p.m., it was decided by the Commander of the 3rd Corps to throw into the counter-attack the 15th Australian Infantry Brigade, under Brig.-Gen. Elliott, which was in close support north of Villers Bretonneux. A further Australian brigade, the 13th, was also being lent to the 3rd Corps, and had been hurried during the morning down towards the area between the Bois l'Abbé and Amiens. The Commander of the 3rd Corps decided to put this also into the attack.

The plan, which was in the first place suggested by General Elliott, and worked out by him with his own divisional commander, Major-Gen. Hobbs, was to ignore Villers Bretonneux altogether, and fling the 15th Brigade past it on the north and the 13th Brigade past it on the south, and let the two brigades join hands beyond the town, enclosing and cutting off whatever Germans had penetrated. A British brigade was thrown in on the right of the 13th, prolonging the line in the direction of Cachy. It would not be possible to get the 13th Brigade up to the starting-point before dark. But although most staffs feared the confusion of night attacks, and they were generally avoided, both Generals Elliott of the 15th and Glasgow of the 13th welcomed the darkness on this occasion. Each of them preferred that the attack should be made without a preliminary bombardment.

At about 10 p.m., by moonlight, the 13th Australian Infantry Brigade delivered its assault past the south of the Bois l'Abbé and of Villers Bretonneux. The scouts going forward to lay tapes at the place of assembly south of the wood found German infantry in occupation of the starting-point. They had to drive them off. The brigade, as it advanced, had German infantry and machine-gun nests in the wood on its left. But parties were detached to deal with or screen them, and the line of the brigade swept past both the wood and the town, its left involved in bitter fighting, until

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it had reached the plantation neighbouring the monument which lay at the farther side of Villers Bretonneux. There, finding itself unsupported and dangerously isolated, the most advanced section of the line slightly withdrew, but so as to keep a strong hold upon the ground south of the farther end of Villers Bretonneux. The 15th Brigade, in the meantime, starting somewhat later than the 13th, had swept over the German posts on the north side of the town, and established itself in a similar position covering the northern side of the exit from the village. Before dawn the Germans in and beyond Villers Bretonneux were, many of them without knowing it, surrounded. Tanks, British troops, and Australians cleared the wood and the town, and captured all those Germans who did not make their way out by a railway cutting which was still open to them.

From this time onward Australian troops were maintained in front of Villers Bretonneux, and the front of the Australian Corps was moved somewhat to the south in order to include this area, the line opposite Albert and Dernancourt being handed over to another corps. During the following months, while the northern offensive around Mount Kemmel gradually died down, and the Germans turned their strength against the French, the British front was quiescent. But so overflowing at this time was the spirit of the Australian infantry that the line occupied by it, before both Amiens and Hazebrouck, was continually in activity. The 1st Australian Division in the north advanced its front in a series of exceedingly clever attacks near Meteren and Merris, finally taking the ruins of the latter village in a brilliant affair almost without loss. In the south almost every brigade carried out some advance, and Ville-sur-Ancre was taken as well as the heights beyond Morlancourt. When no formal attack was planned the individual infantrymen cut off whole series of German posts by a system known to the force as 'peaceful penetration'. The capture of ten or twelve Germans, sometimes including officers or N.C.O.'s, by two or three or even single Australians became an everyday occurrence, and led to strong orders being issued by the German commanders opposite both the Australian fronts. The morale of the Germans confronting both these portions of the force was rapidly degenerating, while that of the Australian infantry rose. Both men and

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officers grew exceedingly skilled in the soldier's craft; and the men became confident that nothing was impossible for them.

In May General Birdwood, who had commanded the 1st Anzac Corps (and later the Australian Corps) since its inauguration, was appointed to the active command of the resuscitated 5th Army. He still retained the administrative control of the A.I.F., and he also retained General White as the Chief of the General Staff of the 5th Army. The command of the Australian Corps was on the 30th of May transferred to Lieut.-Gen. Sir John Monash (who commanded the 4th Australian Infantry Brigade at the Landing, and subsequently the 3rd Australian Division), with Brig.-Gen. T. A. Blamey as his chief staff officer.

Monash was succeeded in the 3rd Australian Division by Major-Gen. Sir J. Gellibrand from the 12th Brigade, the other divisional commanders at this date being

1st	Division,	Major-Gen.	Sir T. W. Glasgow.
2nd	,,	,,	Sir C. Rosenthal.
4th	,,	,,	E. G. Sinclair Maclagan.
5th	,,	,,	Sir J. J. Hobbs.

It should be noted that while, early in 1918, through shortage of men, the strength of the infantry brigades in the British Army had been uniformly reduced from four battalions to three, not till after the fighting of March and April in that year was any corresponding reduction made in the Australian Corps, and then only three out of fifteen brigades in the five divisions lost each a battalion, leaving 57 fairly full battalions in the corps instead of 60. An Australian division therefore in 1918 was a much stronger one than a British, and the same was true of the Canadian divisions, which were also maintained at four battalions to the brigade. Only towards the very end of the war, although, by that time, through continuous hard fighting and absence of adequate reinforcements, battalions and companies had shrunk to skeletons of their former selves, were other Australian battalions merged, leaving 49 battalions as the final nominal strength of the Australian Corps.

At the beginning of July the German attacks upon the French front were at their height. The Supreme Council of

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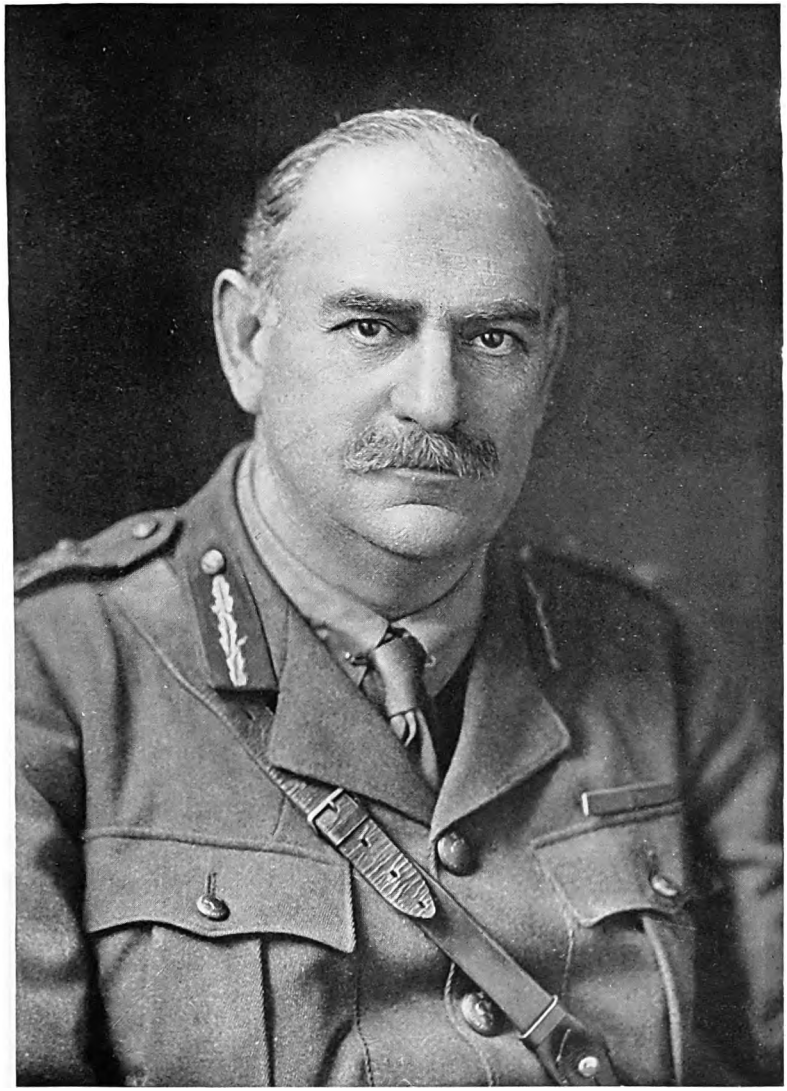

LT.-GENERAL MONASH

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the Allies was meeting in Paris at a very critical time. The German gun-flashes could be seen, and their gun-fire heard, in Paris itself. Marshal Foch saw the moment arrive when the reserves must be used against the German flank extended by these southerly thrusts towards the capital of the French Republic.

It was at this time that Sir John Monash was allowed to undertake an attack, which he and his Chief of Staff desired to make, upon the village of Hamel. It was utilized as the occasion for rehearsing the tactics of a great battle on a miniature scale. The new tanks were put in in large numbers for so small an affair, and there co-operated with them part of the infantry of the 4th Division whose confidence in tanks had been shaken by its experiences at Bullecourt. Various other experiments were attempted, but the most important developments were the use of massed tanks and the inclusion of smoke shells in the preliminary barrage.

The attack upon Hamel took place on the 4th July, a proportion of the American troops, who were reaching France at this time in very great numbers, being attached for experience to the Australian infantry. The action was a complete success. The co-operation of the tanks with the infantry was perfect. Not only was this experience valuable for the tank corps, but the Australian infantry, previously sceptical as to the value of this arm, became at once its most enthusiastic advocates. The results of this new co-operation were very great indeed.

The news of the fighting at Hamel reached the Supreme Council sitting in Paris at a moment when the general position at the front appeared most depressing. On the 14th July the Germans made a further and last advance in the direction of Paris, but four days later, on the 18th, Foch with his reserve and a portion of the American Army attacked them in flank, and delivered the first of the great blows which ended the war. That blow caused them to recoil from the salient formed by their last attack, and went far to shake the confidence of the German soldiers and people. But it did not convince Ludendorff that he must give up the offensive. The German General Staff was planning further attacks, which would have kept the initiative in its hands, when a blow was struck from a different and unexpected quarter, which Ludendorff himself shows to have been the decisive stroke upon the Western Front.

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CHAPTER IX

THE LAST OFFENSIVE IN THE WEST

In the minor attacks which they made during the late spring and early summer of 1918 the Australian infantrymen and their officers became convinced that, if allowed to do so, they could have penetrated as far as the German guns. The German infantry in the front line and the supports, which were the only lines included within the limited objectives set for these small attacks, were so easily overcome, and appeared so lacking in enterprise, that the front-line troops became confident that the enemy line opposed to them would not be so difficult to pierce as the authorities behind them believed. This conviction left out of account many factors, but it was due to appreciation of a fact which the higher command seemed not so quick to recognize, that the German morale was giving way. It was also evidence that, as far as the Australian divisions were concerned, their fighting spirit, always high, had never been so high as at this time when the prospects seemed darkest.

Monash and his Chief of Staff had given some attention to the problem of an attack of a heavier nature against the German line upon the Somme. He had discussed this plan at the head-quarters of the 4th British Army, in which the Australian Corps was. Foch, when the proposals for the next move were before him, finally agreed to a similar plan, which was put forward by Field Marshal Haig, of an offensive on the Somme. Monash, in discussion with the Army authorities, had intimated that with a strong corps such as the Canadian on his southern flank, he believed he could penetrate the German line. The Canadian divisions, like the Australian, were still composed of four-battalion brigades. There had been some intention of withdrawing the Australian Corps at an early stage for a rest, and relieving it with the Canadian Corps. It was now decided to bring the whole of the Canadian force south, put it into the southern half of the line held by the Australians, concentrate the whole Australian force behind the

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northern half, and then attack with the two corps side by side. The 1st French Army under General Debeney was to join in the attack on its southern flank. On the northern flank the Australians, in order to concentrate their force, were withdrawn from the peninsula north of the Somme, which was taken over by British troops. The three British divisions which relieved them were to advance in this angle between the Somme and the Ancre. The British cavalry corps was to be brought up close behind the Australians and Canadians to break through if opportunity occurred ; and a very large force of British tanks was to advance with the infantry.

This attack was very suddenly planned late in July, and was to be undertaken at the beginning of August. Such speed in preparation would have been inconceivable in previous years. But the staffs of the British Army, and particularly the administrative section of them, were working at this time with almost clockwork efficiency. Details which would have been the subject of lengthy discussions and special orders in 1916 were part of the routine taken for granted by every portion of the Quartermaster-General's branch throughout the army in 1918. Moreover, the new system of attack, dating possibly from the advance on Cambrai, which dispensed with annihilating bombardment and colossal barrage, had taught the Allies a far more elastic system of offensive than that of the 'limited objective'. The Canadian Corps was, within a few days, hurried south, every precaution being taken not merely to conceal their destination but to spread false reports regarding it. The 1st Australian Division was similarly withdrawn from the line before Hazebrouck and brought down to join the other divisions of its Corps. The right of the Australian Corps took over a portion of quiet line from the French, and the belief of the men of the 13th Australian Infantry Brigade who held this new sector was that all idea of active fighting had now been given up, and that they were put in to hold an extended sector under peaceful conditions. Behind this 13th Brigade, without its knowledge, the Canadian Corps was brought up, and on the night before the day planned for the great attack Canadian infantry relieved this portion of the extended Australian line. The Germans had not the least suspicion that the Canadian Corps was in their front, nor that any great concentration of troops and guns was massed there.

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In the attack, which was launched in the dawn of the 8th August, the intention of the British command, so far as it was disclosed to General Monash, was to make a deep but not an altogether unlimited advance. He was given the choice of reaching the German guns or Chaulnes Junction, the most important railway centre on this part of the front, which would necessitate a slightly deeper advance than that necessary to capture the guns. He chose to make the guns his objective, because once having reached them he could make Chaulnes impossible for German train traffic by gun-fire. The infantry force with which the attack was launched consisted of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Canadian Divisions on the right opposite Marcelcave; the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th Australian Divisions, with the 1st Australian Division behind them, opposite Warfusée–Abancourt; and two British divisions, the 18th and 58th, with a third, the 12th, behind them, north of the Somme.

The morning of the attack was misty; and when the barrage descended at dawn the natural fog was increased to impenetrability by the artificial white vapour of the smoke shells. The infantry and tanks had some difficulty in keeping their direction in this mist, but they succeeded in doing so; and whatever resistance the Germans might have made was almost entirely disorganized by the fog veil. Where a post resisted it was, more often than not, suddenly assailed from the rear by infantry which had passed it in the mist. In front of the Canadians the fighting at this stage was heavier. But both they and the Australian divisions reached their first objective —the line of the German field-guns—without any difficulty comparable to those of the battles of the Somme in 1916.

By 8 a.m., when the first stage of the advance was complete, the mist began to rise and the sun came out upon a fine summer's day. The 2nd and 3rd Australian Divisions had carried forward the Australian advance to this point, and the 4th and 5th now 'leap-frogged' through them, with their tanks, to reach the second and main objective. This was the old 'outer line' of the defences of Amiens, a series of good well-wired trenches dug by the French in the early years of the struggle. It lay between seven and eight miles from the starting-point of the attack, and was behind the German defence system, and beyond the camps of most of their supporting troops. In the villages immediately beyond it were the

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head-quarters of their army corps staffs. This area was nearer to Amiens than the old Somme battle-field, and consequently the villages were more or less intact except for recent gun-fire.

With the front-line troops in this second stage of the attack went a number of specially large tanks which had been designed to carry infantry inside them to their objective and unload them there. On the 5th Division's front the advance went without a hitch, and the 12th Brigade of the 4th Division also quickly subdued the resistance ahead of it. This opposition came mostly from a narrow wooded gully which ran from the Somme at Morcourt southwards to Harbonnières. The infantry reached this place, which sheltered a large force of German supports, before the shells of the British heavy artillery had ceased falling there. The tanks arriving on the gully's edge put an end to the German resistance, and large numbers were captured here.

The 4th Australian Infantry Brigade, however, which was advancing on the left of the Australian line, immediately south of the Somme, met with very heavy difficulties. These did not come from its front but from its left rear, across the river, where the British divisions which were attacking in the peninsula between the Somme and the Ancre had made much slower progress. The British north of the Somme had been involved in heavy fighting for two days before the great attack, in the endeavour to recapture a portion of their line which had been seized by the Germans. The Germans expecting some further activity there had laid down a barrage upon the British infantry waiting in the dark before the dawn of the 8th August ; and in the heavily wooded country ahead of them, the British, fighting on the flank (a position which has always its special difficulties), were unable to make anything approaching the speed in their advance which was achieved by the Australians south of the Somme.

The result was that in the second stage the 4th Brigade, advancing together with the tanks allotted to it south of the river, found itself under a deadly fire from German artillery immediately across the river in its left rear. This artillery was well behind the Australians, and as they advanced across the country south of the Somme towards Mericourt it fired up the valleys at them. Tank after tank was struck, the infantry in them and their crews being stunned or killed. One or two of

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the special tanks after a most gallant journey reached their objective in the old Amiens line.

But the infantry of the 4th Brigade after capturing many prisoners established itself in the old Amiens line, and threw back a flank on its left as a protection against the Germans north of the river. South of the Australian Corps the Canadians had reached their objectives. The cavalry went through near Harbonnières, at the junction of the Australian and Canadian line, and after capturing a trainload of Germans, swept through the country for a few miles ahead of the line. More effective than the cavalry (which worked under very great difficulties and was fatally vulnerable to machine-gun fire) were the armoured cars, which broke through early in the day where the 5th Australian Division and its tanks was advancing along the Péronne road. These cars sped forward into villages where the fact of the great attack had scarcely yet been realized, where the German staffs were having their breakfasts, and the German transport was hurriedly collecting in view of the unusual sound of the bombardment. They shot down staff officers on the steps and through the windows, destroyed the horses of the transport, and after greatly disorganizing the Germans in their rear areas returned to the British lines in the afternoon.

The German front had been broken by this attack in a most complete and unexpected manner over a wide country-side. The French attacking south of the Canadians were extending the breach. Orders were given to the Australian and Canadian Corps to renew their attacks and continue the advance on the following day. The greater part of the Australian line had reached its objective by midday. But no preparation for so sudden a success had been made, except the bringing south of the 1st Australian Division, which had now reached the Somme, and was this day near Villers Bretonneux and Corbie.

It was found impossible to get the 1st Division to the front in time to advance with the Canadians, though hurried orders were delivered to its battalions as they marched towards Harbonnières on the morning of the 9th August. In the meantime, therefore, the 5th Australian Division was ordered to continue the advance towards Rosières. About midday, after the village of Vauvillers had been taken in heavy fighting by the 29th Battalion, the 1st Division passed through and took

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up the attack upon the wooded hills immediately before the ruined village of Lihons, which was itself not far from the railway junction of Chaulnes. The advance this day was made with little support from the artillery. A few batteries were specially attached to the infantry. But for support the latter were intended mainly to rely upon tanks. The tanks, however, were very different weapons when supported and when unsupported by the guns. On the 9th August they emerged into country which was commanded at a few thousand yards' range by German batteries which were under no shell or machine-gun fire, and which had no pre-occupation except to destroy the tanks one after the other as quickly as possible. Within a quarter of an hour every tank supporting the Australian infantry was disabled or burning. The 2nd Australian Infantry Brigade had to advance over a wide sweep of flat country towards the Lihons hills without any support under the direct-aimed fire of batteries which its machine guns could not reach.

The advance, however, was carried out in exact accordance with the training which the infantry had received. As the battalions approached the hills they were able at last to reach the German field-guns with their rifles and machine guns. The advance was continued by rushes till the line attained in parts the crest of the slope, and at least one battery of German field-guns was in its possession. On the following day the attack was continued by the same brigade with the 3rd Australian Infantry Brigade on its left.

On this day and the next the 3rd Brigade became involved in exceedingly heavy fighting in Crépy Wood, the Germans throwing in reinforcements of rested troops hurriedly gathered. But by the 11th August Lihons and the wooded rises covering it, the highest point in this part of the battle-field, had been taken, and the line of battle had reached the old cratered and much trenched ground over which the earlier battles of the Somme had raged in 1916. On the extreme left of the advance a specially composed division, consisting half of American and half of Australian troops, known as the 'Liaison Force', under Brig.-Gen. Wisdom, had taken over the line of battle north of the Somme and was now advancing through Gressaire Wood, keeping pace with the troops south of the river.

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By this time, in consequence of the stunning and quite unexpected blow upon the Somme, the German higher command realized that it must give up the offensive and go back to a defensive attitude, which Ludendorff knew to mean defeat. From this moment onward the enemy fought a series of rearguard actions from one line to another. At several points in the Somme area, possibly at Bray–Proyart, certainly on the line of the river at Péronne and in the Hindenburg Line, they intended to stay. From those main lines they were driven by the heavy blows which remain to be told.

After the taking of Lihons, the Canadian divisions, which had been fighting brilliantly to the south of the Australians—though the advances of the two corps were, owing to the hurried nature of the movement, somewhat indifferently timed—were withdrawn and sent northward for a separate offensive which the British command had decided to launch on the river Scarpe in the direction of Cambrai. Various British divisions were attached for several weeks to the Australian Corps, General Monash at one time having under him no less than eight divisions—a force of more than the size of an army according to the old reckoning. The Germans, after fighting which involved the 10th and 13th Australian brigades, were confronting him north of the Somme at Bray; south of the river their line lay along the wooded heights of the valley which ran south from Froissy beacon, beyond Proyart, Chuignes, and Chuignolles, to Herleville. These positions north and south of the Somme were attacked on consecutive days, immediately following a great assault which the British, with the New Zealand Division, had launched further north—the second phase of their great counter-offensive.

The attack upon Bray, north of the Somme, was carried out by the 3rd Australian Division on the 22nd August. The line north of the 3rd Division was advancing at the same time. This advance was carried fairly towards its objectives; but when the troops on the northern flank were subsequently driven back, the 3rd Division held on to its objectives and made possible the projected advance south of the river on the 23rd August. The latter attack, which was made by all three brigades of the 1st Australian Division with part of the 32nd Division on their right, was a sweeping success. The 1st Division on a front of 6,000 yards seized the German

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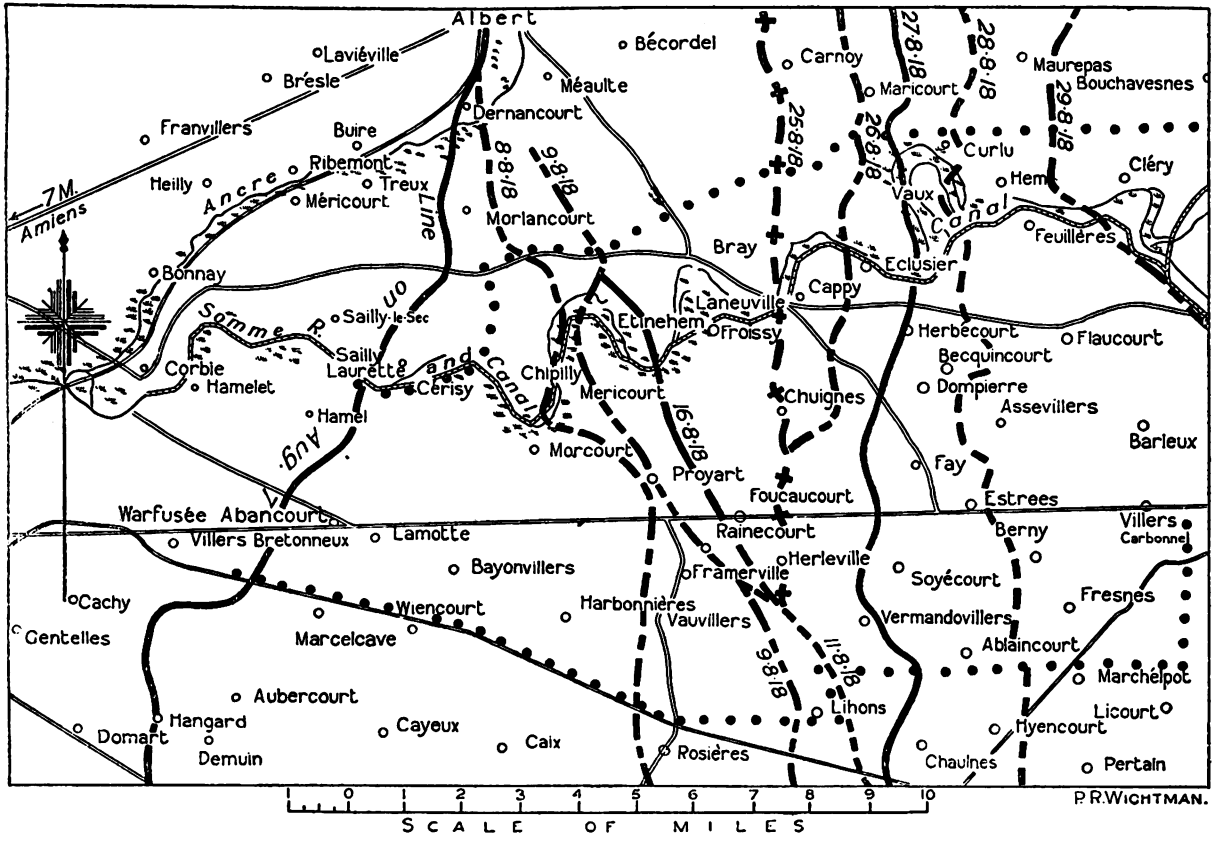

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positions to a depth of nearly two miles in some places; captured many guns and 3,000 prisoners; and drove the Germans from the last position in which they may have intended to make any permanent stand west of Péronne and the southward bend of the Somme. Three days later, on the 26th August, the Canadians and certain British troops were thrown against the Germans on the River Scarpe in the third great phase of the British offensive.

The Germans confronting the Australians held on to their positions in the old Somme battle lines about Foucaucourt until the advance of the British line further north, and the general situation on the rest of the front caused them, on the 29th August, to retire. This they did in accordance with a previously arranged plan, making their next stand upon the line of the Somme where it turns sharply to the southward before Péronne. The river here formed a barrier running north and south across the front of the Anglo-French advance. North of Péronne, where the river channel was not available for defence, the Germans could hold the old lines of their own and the French trenches, which had been heavily fortified with wire and by tireless digging during the winter of 1916–17. The evacuation of Bapaume on the same day by the Germans, owing to the pressure of the British and the New Zealanders, made it improbable that their hold on this line could be prolonged. But it was very strong and strongly garrisoned.

The 2nd and 5th Australian Divisions following on the Germans, as they retired on the 29th August, rushed them off the high ground in the angle of the Somme River, opposite Péronne, which they had intended to hold. This weakened their position in the ruined village of Cléry and the heights above it north of the Somme. The 3rd Australian Division was able to force them out of Cléry, and the 2nd and 5th forthwith transferred a portion of their strength to the north side of the Somme within striking distance of Mont Saint Quentin, the height which guards this angle of the river and overlooks Péronne.

In the dawn of the 31st August, while the enemy was kept busy with obvious attempts by the 15th Australian Infantry Brigade to cross the Somme marshes directly in its front, the 5th Brigade, which had been brought to the northern side of the river, attacked Mont Saint Quentin, about a mile distant

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from its starting-point. The brigade was very weak, its companies down to the strength of 50 men instead of 200. But by dash and determination, making up by sheer noise for the smallness of its numbers, this handful of men swept over trench after trench, the Germans before them running back across the whole country-side. No regular bombardment or barrage was possible. The guns fired at the top of the mount until the troops were approaching it and then lengthened their range. Parties of the 5th Brigade seized the summit and fought there till a German counter-attack forced them a part of the way down the hill. There, on the edge of the village, they held on during the day. On the 1st September the 6th Brigade, starting from this point, seized the summit of the hill and the village; and on the following day the 7th Brigade, acting in conjunction with an advance farther north by the 74th Division, newly arrived from Palestine, advanced far to the other side of the mount, and remained there when the line north of it was forced to withdraw.

During these brilliant attacks upon the height which commanded Péronne the 14th Brigade of the 5th Australian Division had been launching, from the ground won by the 5th Brigade, a series of most desperately difficult attacks against the old ramparts of Péronne. On the 1st September part of its infantry managed to force an entrance into the town and seized it as far as the main square. But the fortifications at its eastern end remained in German hands. On the 2nd September the 15th Brigade, which had succeeded in throwing men straight across the Somme from the west, joined the remnant of the 54th Battalion which was in the town, and fighting from ruin to ruin drove the Germans from the eastern ramparts.

Never in the war had the Australian infantry shown quite such a striking combination of audacity and expertness in their work as in this series of brilliant attacks. The Germans were forced to fall back from the line of the Somme, and it became certain that their next real stand would not be made until the zone of the Hindenburg Line was reached. Their retirement towards that line began at once. It was followed closely by the Australians. All five divisions had now been fighting since the fourth day of the German offensive in March. Without intermission they had kept up active

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aggressive operations which had admittedly broken down the German morale in those portions of the line opposed to them. Instead of the rest which rumour had half promised them, the Australian infantry had been thrown into the greatest battle of their history, and had been attacking and advancing continuously for a month. Moreover they were not being reinforced by the same numbers of recruits which had in previous years streamed from Australia. Many of their battalions at this time were of little more than the strength of companies —300 to 350 strong, and the amount of fighting in which the Australian divisions could be further used without rest and reinforcement became a matter of calculation.

The Germans retired fighting, and sometimes fighting well, to the neighbourhood of the Hindenburg Line. Battalions of Australian Pioneers as well as the infantry were used in following them. By the middle of September the retreating enemy had reached the zone in which their great offensive of the 21st March had begun, the Hindenburg Line. Here the old British trench system, which had been dug and fortified in the winter before the attack, constituted an additional barrier of trenches very formidable and deep. Not only had the Germans the three lines of the Hindenburg system which ran along the Scheldt and Somme Canal ; but in front of them, on the British side of the canal, was the old Hindenburg 'Outpost' Line—very strong and strongly wired—which crested the heights on the western side of the canal and hid the canal from observation. In front of this line again was the old British Outpost Line—a series of posts, some of them defended by wire ; and added to all these was the main front line of the old British system which ran through the village of Le Verguier and east of Hargicourt. The second British line through Hesbecourt and Jeancourt had been occupied by the Australian infantry following on the heels of the Germans.

In order to force a passage through this part of the Hindenburg Line before winter fell it was necessary to obtain a position close enough to its main system to render possible an attack. The German defences were very difficult in this sector because the Somme and Scheldt Canal (generally called the St. Quentin Canal) acted as a deep and wide moat to the main trench line. Only between the villages of Bellicourt and Vendhuille was this obstacle absent—where Napoleon I had

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AUSTRALIAN INFANTRY following the barrage in the Battle of the Hindenburg Outpost Line
18th September, 1918

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carried the canal in a tunnel beneath the highland. This stretch, only three and a half miles wide, was especially strongly entrenched and wired, and was the point at which the enemy would clearly be most prepared for defence. It was, however, decided to attack it, and in order to do so it was determined that the three first lines of defences held by the Germans—namely, the two old British lines and the Hindenburg Outpost Line—must be seized as a preliminary operation. The 1st and 4th Australian Divisions with British troops to the north and south of them, were ordered to make the attack.

The assault upon the Hindenburg Outpost Line took place on the 18th September. The advance was to be so deep—nearly four miles—that it was necessary to arrange for the field guns to be moved forward during the fighting. The night was rainy, and with the battalions reduced to a few hundred men each (instead of a thousand), the objectives so large, and the third stage of the plan—the attack on the Hindenburg Outpost Line itself—left almost optional in case the battalion commanders did not find themselves in a position to attempt it, even the Australian general felt little confidence that the attack could reach all the objectives intended. Smoke was to be used fairly thickly in the barrage, and a few ' dummy ' tanks were built of wood and canvas in order to draw the German shell-fire on to unimportant points.

The 1st Australian Division attacked on the left and the 4th on the right, each with two brigades. The troops on the left flank of the 1st Division were held up short of their objective ; and the left of the 1st itself after heavy fighting reached the old British Outpost Line and the old No Man's Land, but not the Hindenburg Outpost Line. The 4th Australian Division, however, although the troops on its right flank were similarly impeded, rushed the Germans under the mist of smoke shell from both of the first two objectives, and then proceeded in full daylight and without the cover of artillery to work across a mile of No Man's Land towards the third objective—the Hindenburg Outpost Line. Only the left of the division was able to penetrate that line by day, the rest being unable to get through the heavy wire entanglement under fire. Shortly before midnight, however, the 46th Battalion of the 12th Australian Infantry Brigade attacked over

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the wire, took 600 prisoners (twice its own number), seized this very strong line of trenches from at least four times the number of German troops who had been freshly equipped and brought from St. Quentin, and established the British front on the heights looking straight down upon the St. Quentin Canal. Below it lay the mouth of Napoleon's Tunnel; and beyond—the main lines of the Hindenburg defences.

In this attack nearly every battalion of the 4th Division which was engaged took its own number in German prisoners. The Germans appeared to be genuinely demoralized by the skill, swiftness, and daring of the blows which had lately been showered upon them. The victory was the swiftest and most complete ever won by Australian infantry. The two famous divisions which had achieved it, the 1st and 4th, of which the brigades had now shrunk to about one-third of their proper strength, were shortly afterwards relieved from the line.

With the Australian infantry so reduced, it became a problem whether it could be used in the main assault upon this section of the Hindenburg Line—that is to say upon the trenches covering the hills beneath which the canal was tunnelled. There were, however, with the British Army two American divisions—the 27th and 30th—which had lately been given in Flanders their first experience of fighting. These, like other American divisions, were stronger in the number of their infantry battalions than those of any other belligerent, and were very well provided with machine guns. Their men were fresh, strong, and willing; and the drain of war had not yet told upon the American population. It was assumed that, with tanks, and with a heavy barrage, the American infantry, though inexperienced, would be able by its weight to force its way through the first portion of the obstacles. Three Australian divisions—the 3rd, 5th, and, if necessary, the 2nd—were still available to pass through them and launch the second phase of the battle in which the infantry would have to advance without the barrage and relying upon its skill alone. For these reasons it was determined to attack the Hindenburg Line (where the tunnel lay beneath it) with the American divisions; and then to throw the 3rd and 5th Australians through the Americans to complete the breach in the German trench system and pass into open country.

In this decision too little importance was attached to the

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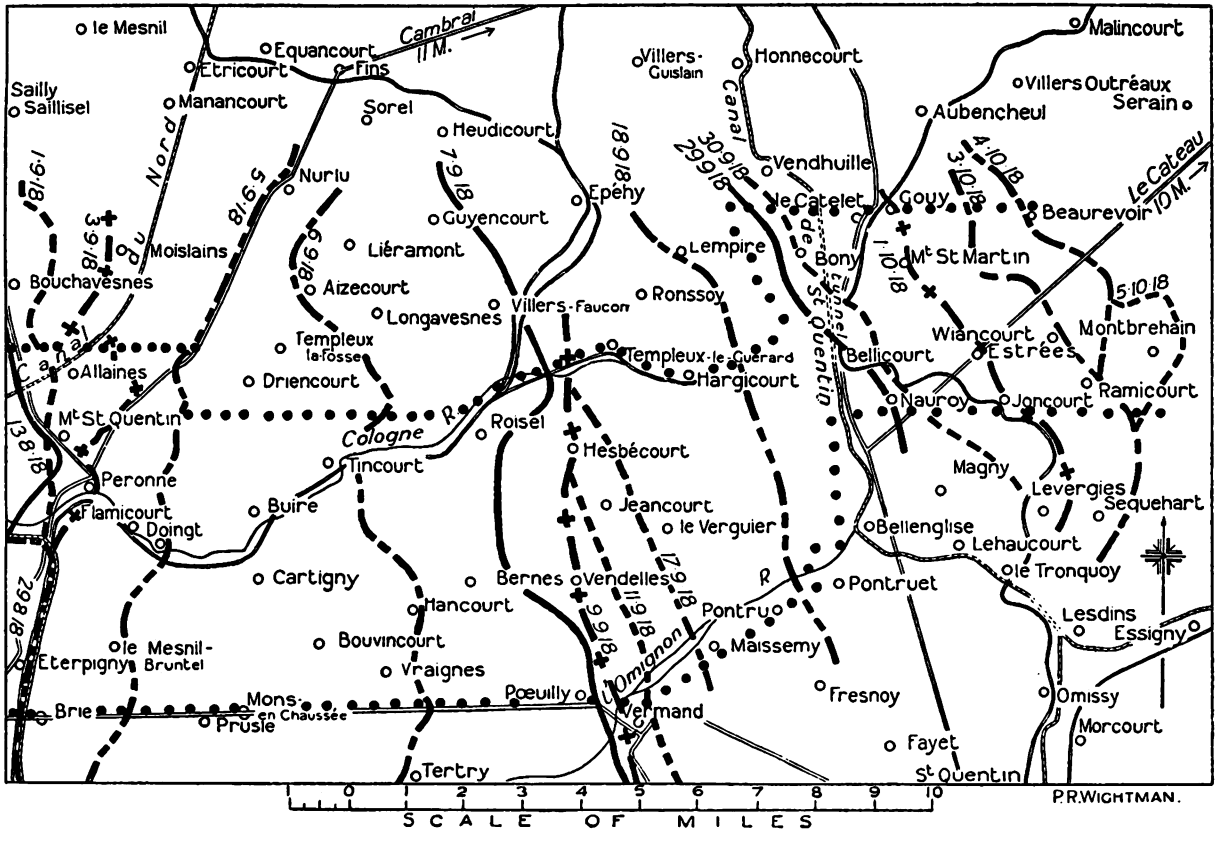

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advantages possessed by trained and skilled troops. The Germans who had been as water in the hands of the Australian divisions (then at the extreme height of their training) recovered instantly when opposed by troops who, however brave and high intentioned, were utterly inexperienced in this type of warfare and but half trained. The attack, which was part of a general offensive lasting for nine days, and extending from St. Quentin almost to the Scarpe, was delivered on the 29th September 1918 by the 27th American Division on the left and the 30th on the right, with British troops making a flank to their north and acting directly against the canal south of them. The assault upon this latter sector was undertaken rather by way of an experiment or a feint than in the real expectation of forcing a crossing. But while the 27th American Division failed, and the 30th only partially succeeded, the British 46th Division to the south of them crossed the canal and forced its way far forward into the country beyond.

The 3rd Australian Division, following the Americans, and moving forward some miles behind its allotted starting-point, ran suddenly into field-gun and machine-gun fire before it had reached the line from which the 27th American Division that morning had started. The 5th Australian Division following the 30th American had gone a little farther on its way before it was interrupted, but found Germans opposing it before it was well clear of the line of the tunnel. There were stories, of which to this day the truth is not surely known, that bodies of Americans, in unseasoned valour, had in some parts gone forward even beyond their objectives, but, neglecting to deal with the Germans in dug-outs or to take any precautions to guard their flanks, had been instantly cut off. Probably some parties of Americans did penetrate in the direction of the village of Gouy and were captured there. But while the Australian divisions were marching to their starting-point, the whole of this part of the battle-field had been re-occupied by the enemy, who was encountered at points around Gillemont Farm even more advanced than those which he occupied the day before.

The gallant American troops, set to an enormous task, with admitted want of experience, can in no way be blamed for the failure. They suffered terribly. The case

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of the Australian divisions which a few hours later followed them was one of portentous difficulty. No American could give the faintest indication as to the general position, for indeed they possessed no information. The artillery could not be used for fear of hitting its own men. The infantry of the 3rd Australian Division, starting where the Americans had started before them, had to win their way through line after line of the Hindenburg trenches by the use of rifle, bomb, and machine-gun alone. The 5th Division on the right, following the 30th American Division, which had succeeded somewhat better, penetrated into the country north of Magny-la-Fosse until it found itself as far advanced as the successful British troops there. But the left of the 5th found Cabaret Wood Farm still heavily held by the enemy. It tried to rush it, and finally had, like the 3rd Division, to resort to systematic piecemeal reduction of the German defences in its front and flank by means of rifle and bomb. During the earlier stage of this advance American troops were found in the trenches, and these were organized by their officers or by the Australians as part of the trench garrisons. As the attack progressed farther, however, no signs of Americans were found, and on the 30th September it was thought safe to assist the Australian troops by gun-fire wherever in the tangled situation this was possible. By the 1st October the 3rd and 5th Australian Divisions fighting in this manner had reached roughly the line which was intended to have been seized by the Americans.

There remained ahead the last line of the Hindenburg defences, known generally as the Beaurevoir or Fonsomme–Beaurevoir Line. This lay beyond the village of Estrées on the old Roman road to Le Cateau down which the British Army retreated in 1914. On the 3rd October two brigades of the 2nd Australian Division, the 5th and the 7th, were put in to attack this line. The system was not fully wired or dug. But where it crossed the Roman road it was fortified with strong concrete blockhouses. Part of the 5th Brigade issuing from Estrées village was held up at this point. Half a dozen tanks, both heavy ones and light 'whippets', were thrown against the obstacle, but one after another was put out of action by the direct fire of German field guns on the heights not far beyond. The Australian line was split, and although the 7th Brigade reached the outskirts of Beaurevoir, and part

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of the 5th penetrated for some distance south of the road, the objectives were not fully gained. The Beaurevoir Line, however, was pierced here, and by the British farther south, who for the first time began to find in the villages which they reached French civilians who had been behind the German line during the whole of the war.

On the 5th October the remaining brigade of the 2nd Australian Division, the 6th, was put in to attack the village of Montbrehain, which was strongly held by the Germans in the open country beyond the Hindenburg Line. After heavy fighting and considerable loss this position was completely taken. Several French civilians were found here too, and were brought back into safety.

That night the Australian infantry was withdrawn from the fighting line. It had been attacking continuously for two months, until some of its battalions were now less than one company strong. Mr. Hughes, the Prime Minister of Australia, who was then in Europe, had been strongly impressed by the need both of relieving these troops, and of giving leave to Australia to those of the first contingents who had been serving at the front since the Gallipoli campaign. By his insistence these two steps were ordered to be taken. The whole of the Australian infantry were brought out of the fighting area to the neighbourhood of Abbeville for rest and reorganization.

At the time when they were withdrawn the Hindenburg Line had been broken in the north also. The British Army was on the offensive as far north as Flanders, as were also the Belgians on their flank. The heavy French and American assaults in the south were driving the Germans towards the Meuse. The work of the Australians was continued beyond the Hindenburg Line by the 27th and 30th American Divisions, which after their experience in the battle of the 29th September attacked both gallantly and skilfully at Bohain. Australian artillery remained with them until the battle of Landrecies. In the north, where General Birdwood's army was now advancing, the two Australian scouting squadrons of aeroplanes, which had made two famous raids upon the German aerodromes at Lille, were taking part in the severe air fighting which occurred towards the end of the war.

The strain of the advance at this period, however, was very heavy upon the British infantry in Flanders. Not since the

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first year of the war had it been attempted to continue active operations there so far into the beginning of the winter. The weather, though finer than usual in the autumn, had broken. It was, nevertheless, decided that—Bulgaria and Turkey having already given in—there was still hope of crushing the Germans before the winter put an end to operations. The reserves of the British Army were being rapidly used up, and the 1st and 4th Australian Divisions were brought forward to take part in the next great attack. They had reached Saint Souplet and Le Cateau, and were on their way to the front line near Avesnes, not many miles ahead, when the Armistice, for which the Germans had asked, was granted on the terms of the Allies, and fighting ended on the Western Front.

For many months a great part of the force remained in Belgium and England, the time being partly filled by the application of a very wide scheme of education and professional and industrial training. To transport the whole of the A.I.F. to its homeland occupied, with the available shipping, more than a year.

The participation of the Australian troops among the larger forces of the Empire in Gallipoli and France has now been described. Of the units which, at the request of the Indian Government, were raised and dispatched to India and Mesopotamia a mere mention can here be made. The brave story of the ' 1st Australian Half-Flight ', which, with a similar detachment of the Indian Army, formed the earliest flying unit with the Mesopotamian expedition, ended tragically at Kut el-Amara. But an Australian and New Zealand pack-wireless squadron provided, until 1919, communications not only for the army in Mesopotamia, but for Dunsterville's Force (itself including 39 Australians) in Persia, and even on occasion for the Russians. Upon request from India a number of trained nurses were sent, who served throughout that country, while 200 flying corps officers, 100 doctors, and numerous nurses were also provided for the British army. Australian trained nurses served in British hospitals at Malta and Salonica (where one hospital was staffed by them) as well as in those of the A.I.F. in Lemnos, Egypt, France, England, and elsewhere. It remains to tell of the part played by the mounted troops of the A.I.F. in Sinai and Palestine, and by the Australian navy upon all the seas.

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CHAPTER X

THE LIGHT HORSE IN SINAI

THE Light Horse which make up the mounted arm of the military forces of the Commonwealth played a prominent if not a decisive part in the overthrow of the Turkish Empire in Palestine and Syria. Within a few months of the outbreak of war thirteen Light Horse regiments had with their horses embarked for Egypt, where, like the infantry, they continued their training for active service. Soon after the landing at Anzac and Suvla, the 1st and 2nd Light Horse Brigades volunteered for dismounted service upon Gallipoli, where they were followed soon afterwards by the balance of the regiments.

Recruited in the main from the wide Australian country-side, the Light Horsemen were pioneers or the children of pioneers, rich in resource, initiative, and resolution. Many of them had seen service in the South African War, and all, if not expert with the rifle, were accustomed to the use of fire-arms. They were all easy natural horsemen, and they were to a remarkable degree masters of country with a phenomenal sense of locality, direction, and distance. They were, therefore, at the time of their enlistment rare raw material for mounted warfare. In the grim school of Gallipoli they became experts in close trench-and-trench fighting, deadly with the rifle and terrible with the bayonet. When, therefore, they returned to Egypt after the evacuation and regained possession of their horses, they made up a veteran force of mounted riflemen fitted to an exceptional degree for service against the Turks in the Sinai Peninsula.

At the outset they carried no mounted arms, and so were not complete cavalry. Their horses were intended merely for reconnaissance and patrol and to bear the brigades swiftly towards their objectives; but when it came to close action the men fought on foot as infantry. Immediately after the evacuation of the Peninsula the Turks showed a disposition to menace the Suez Canal, if not actively to invade Egypt. Their intention was to pin down as many as possible of the great

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body of troops, nearly a quarter of a million strong, collected in Egypt, and at that time under the command of General Sir Archibald Murray. Their advance towards the canal was fairly simple until, after crossing the plains of Southern Palestine, they reached the 90 mile desert of Sinai, which has always been the military buffer between Asia and Africa. There are three possible tracks for an army across Sinai, but the only one which offered a fair passage to a modern force equipped with artillery, was the old caravan route from El Arish in the east along the edge of the Mediterranean in the north of the Peninsula. The main strategical feature of this route is what is known as the Katia Oasis area, which lies about 30 miles east of the canal. This area is made up of many scattered plantations of palms, containing brackish water close to the surface. Armies advancing on Egypt from Southern Palestine have always seized the Katia district, and then having reformed and refreshed their troops, made a dash at the Delta. Early in 1916 General Murray resolved, if possible, to deny the Oasis country to the Turks, and, if circumstances were favourable, to push right across Sinai as far as El Arish on the edge of Southern Palestine. To this end he proceeded to build a broad gauge railway towards the Oasis, and pushed out the 5th Imperial Yeomanry Brigade to occupy the country about Katia and reconnoitre the district. This brigade, scattered over a number of posts, was surprised and badly cut up by the Turks late in April, and forced back towards the canal.

Before that time some small Light Horse forces operating as far east as the Wadi Muksheib had been the pioneers of the Australian Light Horse in fighting upon Sinai, and a detachment of South Australians and Victorians under Lieut.-Col. Scott, with a detachment of the Bikanir Camel Corps, had fought a brilliantly successful little action at Jif Jafa, 52 miles distant from their starting-point. But the reverse to the Yeomanry Brigade marked the real beginning of the Sinai and Palestine campaign. At that time General Chauvel, who afterwards commanded the Desert Mounted Corps with so much distinction, was completing the organization of the Anzac Mounted Division made up of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Australian Light Horse Brigades and the New Zealand Mounted Rifles, still west of the canal. He was ordered immediately

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to proceed to the support of the yeomanry, and with the 2nd Light Horse Brigade, under General Ryrie, leading, crossed the canal on the night of the 23rd April and marched into Sinai.

After their successful raid against the yeomanry, the Turks retired on El Arish, and for some weeks Murray proceeded unmolested with the building up of a defensive position at Romani, which covered the railhead of the new line at that time. The Romani position was admirably suited for defence, being made up of a mass of sand dunes thrust abruptly from the sea coast on to the rough scrubby plain of Northern Sinai, and standing across the track of a force moving upon Egypt from the east. A line of infantry posts was established across the west of this position running from the sea for some miles inland. The role of the Australians and New Zealanders was to move out from their camps behind the line of infantry posts in patrol and reconnaissance over the Oasis area to the east and south. Late in July bodies of Turks crossed the desert between El Arish and Katia, and the rapidly increasing numbers soon made it clear that they intended to strike for the canal. At this time the 52nd (Lowland) Division, with some of the 53rd, occupied the line of posts, and the 1st and 2nd Australian Light Horse Brigades, based on Romani, and the New Zealand Mounted Rifle Brigade carried on the work of forward reconnaissance. The New Zealand and the 5th Yeomanry Brigades had their head-quarters at Dueidar, 15 miles east of the canal. The 3rd Light Horse Brigade was farther to the south, and the 42nd (East Lancashire) Infantry Division had not yet crossed the canal.

The Turks built up their forces to about 18,000 strong, and, under the command of a German officer, von Kressenstein, crept steadily in towards Romani, establishing themselves strongly in trenches and by the use of barbed wire as they came. The work imposed upon the 1st and 2nd Light Horse Brigades, which were for a fortnight engaged upon alternate 24 hour reconnaissances, was particularly severe. The heat was terrific, the camps swarmed with flies, and as the regiments worked by night and rested by day, when they rested at all, they suffered severely from sleeplessness and exhaustion.

On the 3rd August the Turkish line advanced past Katia, and strong movement farther south suggested that it was the

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enemy's intention to pass the line of infantry posts on its southern flank and then strike north-west at the British communications behind Romani. Success in this direction would have imperilled the infantry of the 52nd Division, as its mobility on the heavy sand was very limited and the supply of water always short. Chauvel, therefore, decided to establish an outpost line of the 1st Light Horse Brigade, extending from the southern end of the infantry posts for about three miles to the south-east from a sand dune known as Mount Meredith to a point near Hod el Enna. This line was manned for the first time on the evening of the 3rd August, and the step saved the situation at Romani. Soon after midnight the 500 men of the 2nd and 3rd Regiments of the 1st Light Horse Brigade were assailed by from 5,000 to 7,000 Turks. Advancing barefooted in the darkness over the sand the Turks were within 50 or 60 yards of the Australian line before they were discovered, and then shouting wildly they charged with the bayonet. The Light Horsemen, who were ably handled by Brig.-Gen. Meredith, for a time maintained their ground, but were then forced steadily back over the raw sand dunes by the overwhelming superiority of the enemy's numbers. The 1st Regiment, which had been in reserve, was rushed into the line, and the Australians, although forced to retreat, did so but slowly, and always preserved a continuous fighting front. At dawn they were being outflanked on their right, and the position was critical, but Chauvel then ordered forward the 2nd Light Horse Brigade under Brig.-Gen. Royston, a South African veteran, and by 10 o'clock in the morning, although the Turks were then close to the Light Horse camps and deep in behind the infantry, they were checked and held. The fierce heat and lack of water told severely upon the enemy, and although he continued to press strongly round the right flank of the Australians his main effort was spent. While he had made his main attack against Meredith's brigade, he had demonstrated with light forces against the infantry posts, and so kept the British on their ground.

Meanwhile, Major-Gen. the Hon. H. A. Lawrence, (afterwards Chief of Staff to Field-Marshal Haig in France), whose headquarters were at Kantara, was rushing forward the 42nd Infantry Division, and had ordered the New Zealanders and 5th Yeomanry Brigade to advance upon the exposed left flank

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of the Turkish force. The New Zealanders, supported by the yeomanry and a brigade of the 42nd, made their attack early in the afternoon, rolled up the enemy's flank and took some hundreds of prisoners. The infantry had now come fully into action. Part of the main Turkish position was carried by nightfall, and early next morning the rest of it was taken, and the Australians and New Zealanders advancing dismounted with the bayonet swept the Turks from the ground. In this crucial battle of Romani, at the most critical time, the Australian and New Zealand troops had shown in high degree 'gallantry, steadfastness, and untiring energy', with which they were credited in Sir Archibald Murray's dispatch. The mounted brigades pursued the enemy to Katia, where an indecisive rear-guard engagement was fought in the afternoon. A few days later the Turks were again overtaken and engaged at Bir el Abd, some miles farther east, but Chauvel's effort to destroy the enemy completely and seize his guns was unsuccessful, and the engagement was broken off at dark, after very severe fighting.

The battle of Romani, where the Turks were beaten to a standstill, and British success largely assured by the superb work of the thin outpost lines of the 1st and 2nd Light Horse Brigades, had a profound effect upon the campaign. The original object of the British Government had been to protect the Suez Canal and Egypt. But the Romani victory, inflicting as it did some 7,000 casualties on the enemy and flinging him back in disorder, led to a defensive campaign being gradually developed into an offensive advance. Steadily creeping forward, supported all the way by the construction of the railway and pipe lines carrying fresh filtered Nile water from Kantara, the British forces, with the 1st Australian Light Horse Brigade as advance-guard, entered El Arish on the 21st of December. It had been expected that the enemy would defend it, but the old village was found to be evacuated. The Turks had fallen back upon the new military settlement of Maghdaba, some 25 miles up the Wadi El Arish to the south, and to Rafa, the police post on the boundary between Turkish territory and Egyptian Sinai.

The British forces in the field now stood at four infantry divisions, five mounted brigades, and the Imperial Camel Corps Brigade, which was made up of ten companies of

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Australians, four of British, and two of New Zealanders. The Northern Sinai Army, known as Eastern Force, came under the command of Lieut.-Gen. Sir Charles Dobell, who had successfully carried through the Cameroons campaign earlier in the war, while the mounted troops were formed into a Desert Column, under Lieut.-Gen. Sir Philip Chetwode.

Chetwode resolved immediately to pursue the Turks to Maghdaba, and on the night of the 23rd December, Chauvel, having under his command the 1st and 3rd Light Horse Brigades, the New Zealand Mounted Rifle Brigade, and the Camel Brigade, under Brig.-Gen. C. L. Smith, V.C., covered the 25 miles up the wadi in the darkness and appeared before Maghdaba soon after dawn. The settlement comprised a few new stone buildings located beside some good wells on the bank of the wadi, while a ring of stoutly prepared earthworks situated on the high ground on either side was occupied by some 1,700 Turks with machine guns and a mountain battery. Deploying at a point about four miles west of the position, Chauvel's troops formed a mounted circle around Maghdaba. Advancing briskly on their horses until the enemy fire became severe, they dismounted and went forward with the rifle. The ground, although broken with many tributaries from the main wadi and little hillocks and bushes, offered indifferent cover against the enemy's fire. Progress was therefore slow, and by the middle of the afternoon none of the redoubts had been reduced. Chauvel was fighting against time, as there was no water for the horses nearer than El Arish unless the position was taken. When the situation was critical, however, and withdrawal had been suggested, the 1st Australian Light Horse Brigade, led by General Cox, rushed one of the western redoubts with the bayonet. This enabled crossfire to be brought on the adjoining positions, and as darkness was falling the Turkish resistance collapsed all round the ring, and the British drove the enemy before them towards the buildings in the centre. The victory was complete. Very few of the enemy escaped and upwards of 1,500 prisoners were secured. A few hours later Chauvel was back at El Arish. Maghdaba supplies an excellent example of Light Horse work at its best. Within thirty hours Chauvel's men had covered 50 miles, fought an engagement lasting nine hours, and demolished the enemy post.

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Similar in character and equally brilliant in achievement was the work of the Anzac Mounted Division, the Camel Brigade, and the 5th British Yeomanry Brigade a fortnight later at Rafa. Again Chauvel led his troops by a long night march and enveloped the Turkish position soon after dawn. The Turks, to the number of nearly 2,000, occupied a series of earth-works on a high bare knoll adjoining the sand dunes at El Magruntin, close to the Rafa police post. Again the composite British force had but a few hours in which to reduce the garrison. Progress up the bare slopes was on all sides slow and difficult in the face of the accurate fire of Turkish riflemen and machine gunners, but towards nightfall two magnificent charges with the bayonet, one by the New Zealand Brigade under General Chaytor, and the other by the Australians of the Camel Brigade, swept over the main Turkish defences. Practically the whole of the enemy garrison was captured or destroyed. This fine little effort was the more meritorious because victory was snatched at the eleventh hour, just as strong Turkish reinforcements were advancing from the east.

So far the campaign had been fought mainly by the troops of the Anzac Mounted Division with the assistance of the Camel Corps at Maghdaba and Rafa. The heavy sands of Sinai, together with the extreme heat and absence of water, had made infantry work almost impossible. But now upon the firm rolling plains of Southern Palestine, the old grazing southland of the patriarchs, movement was easy for all arms. Advancing along the coast General Dobell decided to endeavour to repeat at Gaza the surprise enveloping tactics which had been so successful in the two previous engagements. Gaza, a considerable town and trading centre, has been all down the ages the gate and key of the Philistine Plain to armies advancing from the south. In March 1917 it was held by some 5,000 Turks, while additional enemy forces amounting to some 15,000 were scattered over the country towards the north-east and in the direction of Beersheba to the south-east. Dobell had now three infantry divisions at El Arish and farther east, and his mounted forces had been increased by the formation of the Imperial, afterwards called the Australian, Mounted Division. This division was commanded by Major-Gen. Hodgson. The earlier formation, the Australian and New Zealand (or Anzac) Mounted Division was commanded by Major-Gen.

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Chauvel; and these two, together with the 53rd Infantry Division, constituted the Desert Column under Chetwode's command. Concentrating his force by secret night marches at Belah south of the great Wadi Ghuzzi some 10 miles from Gaza on the night of the 25th March, Dobell planned to encircle the town with mounted troops, which would hold off enemy reinforcements and prevent the escape of the Gaza garrison, while the 53rd Infantry Division would storm the place by frontal attack.

Difficulty of water supply governed the conditions under which the first assault on Gaza was made. Only complete success could enable whatever ground was won to be consolidated, time was of the essence of complete success, and the delay caused by the morning fog made it from the first more than likely that the object could not be attained. Yet the result was by no means fruitless. The Turks were compelled to concentrate for the defence of the place a much larger force than had previously been allotted to it, the numbers available for Mesopotamia were proportionately reduced, and the menace to Palestine caused general alarm. The operations, therefore, from the British point of view, while tactically unsuccessful, had a considerable strategic value.

With Ryrie's 2nd Australian Light Horse Brigade leading, the Anzac and Imperial Mounted Divisions, together with the Camel Brigade, were, at an early hour in the morning, in position on a line extending from a few miles north of Gaza close to the coast, south-east to Gamli on the Wadi Ghuzzi. The 53rd Division crossed the wadi at about half-past five and were then held up by a dense fog, and owing to that and other delays the infantry attack, which was to have been launched before 8 o'clock, was not made until the middle of the afternoon. The positions taken up by Ryrie's 2nd Brigade and the New Zealand Brigade lay within about 3 miles of the town on the north-east and north, and Dobell, uneasy at the infantry delay, ordered the Anzacs to join in the attack. The Light Horsemen and New Zealanders advanced mounted with great dash, and then leaving their horses, pressed eagerly, with the bayonet, through the cactus hedges which encompassed the town. In places the fighting was severe, troops firing at point-blank range on either side of the hedges. But the Anzacs pressed resolutely, and by nightfall they had broken the enemy's

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resistance and were driving the fugitive Turks through the outskirts of Gaza. The infantry attack was directed upon a commanding knoll known as Ali Muntar, slightly to the south-east of the town. This was flanked on each side by a ridge overgrown with cactus and giving perfect cover to the defenders. The British troops advancing over absolutely naked country fought with the greatest gallantry, but suffered very heavy losses, and it was almost dark before they reached their objectives. By this time the enemy forces to the north and east, marching to the rescue of the garrison, were exerting some pressure upon the Australians and Yeomanry of the Imperial Mounted Division and upon the Camel Corps. The troops actually engaged in checking this menace did not regard it as serious, and believed they could have held on without trouble during the night. But the water problem was urgent, especially for the mounted troops. Generals Dobell and Chetwode took a grave view of the situation, and to the dismay of the infantry of the 53rd, and of the New Zealanders and the Australians of the 2nd Light Horse Brigade, they ordered an immediate evacuation. The whole force was withdrawn during the night and recrossed the Wadi Ghuzzi on the following day. The enemy's losses had probably been as heavy as those of the attacking army, and his view of the situation at Gaza on the evening of the 26th was shown by the destruction of his large wireless plant there, and by intercepted messages declaring that surrender was inevitable unless relief was immediate.

This partial failure at Gaza was followed by the disastrous engagement of the 19th April, always referred to as Second Gaza. Though the work in hand demanded a far stronger striking force than Murray had under him, and adequate reinforcements were not at the time available, various considerations pointed to an early renewal of an attempt which had come so near success, and it was decided to engage the enemy in a direct frontal attack with all the troops at the disposal of the British command. A frontal attack was dictated by difficulties of water and transport. The Turks had now concentrated their forces on a strong line extending across the sand dunes between Gaza and the sea through the cactus to the south of the town, and south-east towards Beersheba along a pronounced ridge which slopes down to the

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Wadi Ghuzzi. Nearly everywhere the defenders had an excellent zone of fire, and the position was almost ideal for defence. While the British infantry divisions attacked on the Gaza front, the Camel Brigade and the troops of the Imperial Mounted Division, which included the 3rd and 4th Australian Light Horse Brigades, made a dismounted advance on the right, with the Anzac Mounted Division on the extreme south-eastern flank. The result was a failure. Despite magnificent bravery by both the infantry and the dismounted horsemen, and though ground was gained on the flanks, the Turkish main position was nowhere shaken. The British and Australian casualties were heavier than on any other day in the whole Palestine campaign, and the attack, having been decisively stopped, was seriously menaced by confident counter-attacks from the enemy. The engagement was broken off at nightfall.

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CHAPTER XI

THE ADVANCE UPON JERUSALEM

After the failure of the attempts to carry Gaza in March and April 1917 the British Government decided to send out the long needed reinforcements, and at length set its face to a resolute campaign for the conquest of Palestine. Chetwode had replaced Dobell, and towards the end of June General Allenby, hitherto in command of the Third Army in France, succeeded Sir Archibald Murray, and made systematic preparations for a new offensive. By the transfer to Palestine of two divisions from Salonica, and by the formation of a third out of troops sent from India, the strength of the infantry was increased from four divisions to seven, the artillery was also strongly reinforced, and the mounted troops were reorganized as the Desert Mounted Corps under Chauvel's command. This last corps now consisted of three divisions, the Anzac Mounted Division, under Chaytor; the Imperial Mounted Division, now renamed Australian, under Hodgson; and a new Yeomanry Division under Major-Gen. Barrow.

Meanwhile the Turks had continued to build up their line. Beginning on the coast, it was continued in an unbroken series of redoubts to within a few miles of Beersheba, which was strongly fortified on the flank. The problem of the British forces was one of mobility and of water supply, and after exceedingly heavy work in the construction of railways and the laying of pipe lines, General Allenby had greatly widened the range of possible operations, and launched the first of his two main Palestine offensives towards the end of October. No longer tied to a frontal attack upon a heavily fortified line, and able to carry out a turning movement, he decided to fall first upon Beersheba; and, as a preliminary to this assault, Chauvel concentrated the Anzac and Australian Mounted Divisions by night marches on some wells at Khalasa and Asluj, which had been cleaned out with great labour by the Anzacs and the Camel Brigade.

Chauvel marched from Asluj on the night of the 30th October,

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and covering 25 miles of very rough hilly country, appeared south-east and east of Beersheba early on the following morning. Then, while the infantry of the XXth Corps struck in from the south-west, the 2nd Light Horse Brigade advanced at the gallop and seized the road leading from Beersheba to Jerusalem along the ridge of Judaea, at Sakati some miles north of Beersheba. The New Zealand Mounted Rifle Brigade and the 1st Light Horse Brigade advanced on foot against the strong position at Tel el Saba, a stoutly defended mound covering the village on the east. Tel el Saba was carried with the bayonet by the New Zealanders early in the afternoon, and meanwhile the infantry on the south-west had gained their objectives and driven the Turks from their trenches. At four o'clock, however, Beersheba was still standing and was beyond the reach of the infantry. Chauvel's horses had received very little water at Asluj, and the position was critical. If Beersheba could not be taken by nightfall, the mounted troops must have been withdrawn to save the horses, and without the capture of Beersheba on that first day, the whole of Allenby's plan might easily have failed, for the Turks, discovering the British dispositions, which had been made with great secrecy, could probably have saved their line. Chauvel, therefore, resolved on a mounted attack by the Australian Mounted Division under General Hodgson. This was entrusted to General Grant's 4th Australian Light Horse Brigade. Grant's regiments were at the time off-saddled behind a ridge some four miles to the south-east of Beersheba. Between them and the town lay absolutely open country crossed by substantial Turkish earth-works. The men of the 4th (Victorian) and 12th (New South Wales) regiments, who were to charge these defences, carried no swords, but Grant ordered them to ride with fixed bayonets in the hope that the sight of the steel would affect the Turkish morale. The squadrons began their ride at the trot, deploying at once into artillery formation with some 200 yards between each line. As they covered the first mile they came under shrapnel from the enemy's guns, and the pace was increased to the gallop. They were then taken on their left flank by machine-gun fire, and many horses were brought down. But the charge was not checked, and the two leading squadrons under Majors Lawson and Hyman spurred down on the first line of the Turkish trenches. Seen in the

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failing light the galloping horses which raised great dust upon the dry plain, appeared to the enemy a force some thousands strong; and steady accurate riflemen as they usually were, the Turks lost their nerve and shot wildly. So completely were they demoralized that few of them altered the sights on their rifles, and over the last half mile of the charge the Light Horsemen suffered very few casualties. The leading line took the advanced trench in its stride and was soon into the reserve positions. Some of the troops then dismounted and assailed the enemy with their bayonets in the earth-works, while others galloping on raced for Beersheba. The line was completely breached, and within an hour from the time when Grant received his orders, the town was in the hands of the Australians, together with some 1,300 prisoners and a number of guns.

Startled at the loss of Beersheba, and fearing that Chauvel might advance with his mounted troops by the road which follows the highlands of Judaea through Hebron and Bethlehem to Jerusalem, the Turks immediately swung the reserves which they had concentrated behind Gaza across to their eastern flank. They were then strongly assailed by Lieut.-Gen. Bulfin with the XXIst Corps between Gaza and the sea, and compelled to give considerable ground. A few days later, while Chetwode struck in towards the north-west on the right flank, Chauvel, moving on his right again with the Anzac and Australian Mounted Divisions, endeavoured by a diagonal march to cross the plain to the Mediterranean and intercept the enemy's main line of retreat. Meanwhile, there had been bitter fighting by the Australians and New Zealanders, together with the Camel Brigade and the 53rd Division at Khuweilfeh, in the hills to the north-west of Beersheba. The advance of the mounted divisions was sorely restricted by scarcity of water. The horses were frequently obliged to go two days without a drink and sometimes longer, and this handicap enabled the Turks to withdraw up the Philistine Plain with most of their army intact. The pursuit was distinguished by stubborn rearguard fighting by the enemy, and many brilliant thrusts and charges by the British Yeomanry and the Australian and New Zealand horsemen.

After the capture of Jaffa by the New Zealanders, Allenby pushed his line north-west along the Mediterranean to the

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Wadi Auja with his right flank thrown back to the south of the point at which the Jaffa–Jerusalem road enters the foothills at Latron. The time had now come for an advance upon Jerusalem. The Turks held in great strength rugged country between the Holy City and the Philistine Plain. The hills gave little or no opportunity for mounted work, and the honour of driving the Turk from the Holy City belongs almost entirely to the British infantry, including the 60th Division of London Territorials, who, on the 9th of December, reached the walls of the old citadel after prolonged fighting.

Further stern fighting by the infantry beat off a determined Turkish counter-attack on the 26th–27th December, and advanced the British line north-west from the city astride the road to Nablus. Allenby's aim at the time was to establish a line from the Mediterranean, a few miles north of Jaffa, to another Wadi Auja, which falls from the eastern slopes of Samaria into the Jordan. Early in February 1918 the 60th London Division advanced, fighting all the way, down the road from Jerusalem to Jericho and the Jordan Valley, while the 1st Light Horse Brigade and the New Zealand Rifle Brigade of the Anzac Mounted Division worked through the wilderness of Judaea on their right. The operation was completely successful, and on the morning of the 21st February the Light Horsemen, debouching from the hills upon the shores of the Dead Sea, rode up the plain and seized Jericho without meeting any resistance.

Following on their revolt under the Shereef Hussein against Turkish dominion, the Arabs of the Hedjaz had been doing highly useful work in Arabia, and were rapidly advancing north along the Hedjaz Railway. Allenby was anxious to assist their operations by breaking the railway line, which, running southwards from Deraa along the edge of the Arabian desert, supplied the Turks opposed to them. With this end in view the Anzac Mounted Division and the Londoners late in March forced the crossing of the Jordan a few miles from the Dead Sea, and flinging over pontoon bridges, climbed the precipitous range of Eastern Palestine and marched across Gilead to Amman, the ancient Philadelphia. At Amman the Hedjaz Railway passes through a long tunnel and over an extended viaduct. If these could be destroyed, Turkish communications would suffer for a considerable time. The old

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mountain town of Es Salt on the main mountain road from the Jordan to Amman was brilliantly seized by the 3rd Australian Light Horse regiment under Lieut.-Col. Bell, and the 2nd Australian Light Horse Brigade, the New Zealand Mounted Rifle Brigade, and the Camel Brigade strongly assailed Amman. The crossing of the Jordan, however, had been delayed by floods, and the enemy was fully aware of the British advance. His position at Amman was one of great natural strength in broken hilly ground covered by a great wadi. The advance of the Anzacs and the Camel Corps lay over exposed boggy country. Heavy rain fell throughout the operation, and the weather was bitterly cold. The initial attacks having failed with heavy losses, several battalions of the Londoners were sent forward from Es Salt. For some days the fight raged with great intensity, but, although by a fine night attack the New Zealanders won into the village, the ground could not be maintained, and the enterprise was abandoned. A few miles of railway to the south of Amman were destroyed, and much alarm was caused at Turco-German head-quarters, but the actual interference with the Turkish communications was insignificant.

A few weeks later the Australian and Anzac Mounted Divisions supported by the Londoners again crossed the Jordan and climbed up to Gilead. But again the Turks were completely successful in their resistance, and although Es Salt was brilliantly captured by the 3rd Light Horse Brigade led by Wilson, and many prisoners were taken, Allenby's troops were compelled to withdraw after the four mounted brigades had been for some days in an extremely precarious condition. In this fighting heavy losses were suffered by the Londoners in a very gallant endeavour to drive the enemy from a strong position in the foothills at Shunet Nimrin, on the eastern side of the Jordan Valley.

Coincident with the first of these two thrusts across the Jordan was the beginning of the great German offensive in France. It had a profound effect upon the Palestine campaign. From April to July Allenby's fighting force was materially weakened by the withdrawal of a division of Yeomanry and of a large portion of the British infantry, who were sent to stem the tide of German advance upon the Western Front. These troops were replaced by Indian cavalry and infantry,

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but some time elapsed before the Indian troops were deemed fit for fighting of a serious nature. The Commander-in-Chief's plans were thus deranged and deferred, but none the less, through the summer he maintained the offensive as best he could, and never weakened in his determination to strike a crushing blow at the Turks in the autumn of the year.

The two raids beyond the Jordan, although unsuccessful at the time, had a highly significant effect upon the future of the campaign. They led the Turks to believe that when Allenby was ready for his next general offensive, he intended to advance on the Jordan side of his line. The IVth Turkish Army was therefore concentrated on the east of the river, and only the VIIth and VIIIth Armies was left to defend the line across Samaria and the Plain of Sharon.

The summers spent by the Australians in Sinai and Palestine were seasons of extreme discomfort attended by heavy wastage through sickness. The last summer, which was passed in the Jordan Valley, was especially destructive. The valley area occupied by the British forces was about ten miles long by five wide. Here, much of the time without a drop of rain, in a temperature which seldom fell below 105° and frequently exceeded 125° F., shut in by the ranges which rise from the floor of the valley to a height of 3,000 feet on either side, and in an extreme atmospheric pressure caused by the fact that the Jordan there flows at 1,300 feet below sea level, the troops lived from May till the end of September. Stagnant swamps which flanked the river bred myriads of malaria-bearing mosquitoes, and more than 70 per cent. of the men suffered from fever. The dust perhaps has never been equalled in any part of the world.

Nor was the summer front in the Jordan Valley a quiet place. The Turks, despite the appalling conditions, continued remarkably active, and made a number of stout attempts to drive Allenby's mounted troops from their positions. After the first raid into Gilead, the 1st Australian Light Horse Brigade under Cox held a strong bridgehead on the east of the river at the Ghoraniye crossing. Early in April a Turkish force about 2,000 strong crossed the plain from Shunet Nimrin in the night and fell upon Cox's position. The Australians, however, were strongly entrenched, and shooting with terrible accuracy, with admirable support from the British artillery on

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the west bank of the river, they beat off the enemy. The Turks retired leaving several hundred killed and wounded on the ground. On the same day the 1st Battalion (Australian) of the Camel Brigade were fiercely assailed at Musallabeh, on the west side of Jordan, but here, too, the enemy were beaten off with heavy losses.

On the 14th July Cox's Brigade was attacked on the foothills adjoining the Jordan Plain at Musallabeh and Abu Tellul. This attack was of special interest because it was the only one made in Palestine by German infantry. The Australian line consisted of a number of posts extending over very harsh and hilly country. The Germans advancing in the darkness penetrated the wire between two of the positions, and pushing on, isolated a number of posts. Their objective was the Wadi Auja, a fine fresh stream close behind the Australian line, and they penetrated to within a few hundred yards of the water. The Australians in the posts, however, continued to pour destructive fire into their rear, and soon after dawn they were assailed and speedily crushed by Cox's reserve regiment in a swinging bayonet attack. Three hundred and fifty were taken prisoners and some hundreds were killed and wounded.

The Australians, like the rest of the troops committed to the Valley, faced the ordeal very cheerfully. The whole army had, despite the failures in Gilead, complete trust in its Commander-in-Chief, and was buoyed up with expectation of the renewal of offensive which every man knew would come with the cool weather.

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CHAPTER XII

THE FINAL CAMPAIGN IN PALESTINE

In the great plan which he unfolded to his Corps Commanders in September, Allenby decided to exploit to the full the enemy belief that his next strong movement would come in the Jordan Valley. The mounted troops now commanded by Chauvel were made up of four divisions. The Camel Brigade had been disbanded, and the Australian portion of it turned into two additional Light Horse regiments, bringing the total up to fourteen. These two regiments, together with a dashing regiment of French Colonials, made up the 5th Australian Light Horse Brigade, which replaced the 5th Yeomanry Brigade in the Australian Mounted Division. The two cavalry divisions under Generals Barrow and MacAndrew were made up of Indians with a stiffening of Yeomanry. Moving his force under cover of darkness, Allenby concentrated the Australian Mounted Division and the two cavalry divisions in the orange and olive groves to the north of Jaffa and around Ludd. At the same time he assembled five (infantry) divisions and a great mass of artillery on the sector extending from the coast to the foothills of Samaria. Chaytor, with the Anzac Mounted Division, supported by an Indian Brigade of Imperial Service Infantry, two battalions of British West Indians, and two of the recently formed Jewish Battalions, remained to hold the Jordan Valley. To deceive the enemy numerous empty camps were left standing in the Valley; sleighs drawn by mules were trotted about making dust to suggest activity, and various other devices were employed. At this time the British and Australian airmen were complete masters in the air, and the German pilots were rarely permitted to pry over the British lines.

Between the main striking force and the troops left to hold the Jordan Valley, two divisions of the XXth Corps under Sir Philip Chetwode held the centre of the British line.

The great final offensive was launched at dawn on the

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19th September 1918. After a brief bombardment by upwards of 300 guns, the British infantry, advancing with magnificent dash despite heavy casualties, overran the Turkish positions on the coastal side of Samaria. The infantry then wheeled to the right towards Tulkeram and Nablus, while Chauvel with his two cavalry divisions and the Australian Mounted Division swept through the gap and streamed up the Plain of Sharon. Riding hard the horsemen at dawn on the following morning penetrated the long saddle which leads from the ranges of Samaria north-west to Carmel, and debouched on to the Esdraelon Plain, the old plain of Armageddon. Here one brigade seized the important railway junction at El Afule, while another rode up the steep winding hill and entered Nazareth. General Barrow's 4th Cavalry Division then sped down the Vale of Jezreel to Beisan on the Jordan. This grand movement placed Chauvel astride the rail and road communications of the VIIth and VIIIth Turkish Armies in Samaria. Meanwhile, Chetwode with the XXth Army Corps had made a strong frontal attack against the Turks astride the Jerusalem–Nablus road, while Bulfin with the XXIst Corps had pressed in from the south-west. The Turkish infantry, jolted from their mountain heights, fled in disorder by the two main roads leading to Jenin on the Esdraelon Plain and Beisan on the Jordan. As they hastened along the narrow tracks through the ranges, a great disorderly mass of all arms mingled with every kind of transport, they were fiercely assailed with bombs and machine guns by scores of British and Australian airmen. Two great columns were almost entirely destroyed, and the remainder of the armies hastened panic-stricken towards the north and north-east. On the evening of the 20th one of these bodies upwards of 7,000 strong emerged from the passes and concentrated at Jenin. Here they were enveloped and charged with great resolution by the 9th and 10th regiments of Wilson's 3rd Australian Light Horse Brigade, and the whole force was compelled to surrender. The fugitives towards Beisan were captured by the Indians of Barrow's division.

Having annihilated the VIIth and VIIIth Turkish Armies, Allenby decided to advance as speedily as possible upon Damascus in the hope of cutting off, east of the Jordan, the retreat of the Turkish IVth Army which was now fleeing north from Gilead. Chaytor, who with the Anzac Mounted Division

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and the West Indians had pushed vigorously northwards along the Jordan, closing the river crossings, followed the Turkish IVth Army, with his mounted troops, as far as Amman, and after a dashing fight by the Australians and New Zealanders Amman was captured. Ryrie, with the 2nd Australian Light Horse Brigade, a few days later intercepted a column of Turks some 5,000 strong marching northwards from Maan and forced its surrender. The Anzac Mounted Division captured 11,000 prisoners in this brilliant operation.

Chauvel in his advance with the Desert Mounted Corps upon Damascus, sent Barrow with the 4th Cavalry Division eastwards from Beisan to Deraa, where the Turkish garrison was still holding out against the Arabs. Barrow had orders to seize Deraa and then to press north towards Damascus along the old Mecca pilgrims' route. At the same time Hodgson with the Australian Mounted Division was to seize Tiberias and Semakh, a railway station near the Sea of Galilee, and then crossing the river farther north, he was to ride for Damascus by the old main road from the south-west. So demoralized were the Turks by the swift advance of Chauvel's horsemen that so far his three divisions had met with little or no opposition. During the advance from the Esdraelon Plain to Damascus, however, the gallant German machine gunners attached to the Turks fought a number of stiff rearguard engagements. At Semakh a party of Germans and Turks some hundreds strong, supported by not a few machine guns, occupied the railway buildings and a number of carriages and trucks about the station. Here they were attacked by the 11th Australian Light Horse regiment in the night, and a very bitter and bloody fight at close quarters followed. Many of the Australians together with their horses were shot as they galloped in to the position, but after being held up for some time they battered down the doors of the buildings, and fighting from floor to floor and room to room, demolished the garrison with the bayonet.

Tiberias was taken by the 3rd and 4th Australian Light Horse Brigades without resistance. Moving north the Australian Mounted Division was then held up for some hours by German machine gunners at the bridge of the Daughters of Jacob, a few miles to the south of Lake Huleh. The opposition, however, was outflanked without serious fighting, and the

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Australians, followed by the 5th Cavalry Division under MacAndrew, struck the old caravan route which leads from the Jordan to Damascus. By the time the Light Horsemen had reached the Circassian village of Kuneitra, 15 miles beyond the Jordan, the 4th Cavalry Division under Barrow had captured Deraa. Barrow then with the Arabs under Emir Feisal and Lieut.-Col. Lawrence pursued the fugitive 4th Turkish Army towards Damascus, while the Australians, marching swiftly from Kuneitra on the evening of the 29th September, endeavoured to reach Damascus in time to cut off the Turkish retreat.

The night was an exciting one. The 3rd Light Horse Brigade under Wilson was obstructed for some hours by German machine gunners a few miles north of Kuneitra. By dawn on the 30th the enemy opposition had been beaten down, and the troops of the Australian Mounted Division were streaming up the wide plain leading to the great city. The Turks were now everywhere flying in confusion, and the Light Horsemen riding hard took large numbers of prisoners. During the morning the Turkish column, driven by Barrow and the Arabs, was seen approaching Damascus by the old holy route to Mecca. The advanced guard of the enemy succeeded in crossing the front of the Australians and put down a strong barrier of machine guns near Kaukab. After vigorous shelling by batteries of the Royal Horse Artillery this line was resolutely galloped by the 4th and 12th Light Horse regiments. Simultaneously the 5th Light Horse Brigade under Onslow, together with the 3rd Brigade, advanced rapidly and closed the Barada Pass, through which the road and railway leads from Damascus into the Baalbek Plain and across the Lebanons to Beyrout. Here a great Turkish column many thousands strong was intercepted as it hurried from the city. About 4,000 Turks surrendered almost immediately, but others, encouraged by the German machine gunners, waged an unequal fight against the Light Horsemen, who, with machine guns and Hotchkiss rifles were posted on the bluffs overlooking the narrow gorge. The shooting of the Australians was terribly effective, and on the following morning 375 enemy dead were counted in the pass. The road was completely blocked.

The route running northwards from Damascus to Aleppo, however, was still open, and Wilson was ordered to move with

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Turkish Prisoners captured by the 3rd Australian Light Horse Brigade at Jenin, Plain of Armageddon

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the 3rd Light Horse Brigade through the hills to the west of the city to get astride this highway. During the night, however, Wilson discovered that the hills were impassable, and he decided to ride boldly through the town at daylight on the following morning, the 1st of October. At that time it was believed that Damascus contained at least 20,000 enemy troops, but Wilson held that the Turks if resolutely galloped would not show fight. His confidence was fully justified. At dawn the brigade, with the Western Australians of the 10th Regiment leading, rode from the Barada Gorge, and swinging from the trot into the gallop charged into the heart of Damascus. They rode within 150 yards of about 12,000 Turks assembled about the military barracks and hospitals. But the enemy troops were now in the last stages of exhaustion and distress, a disorganized mob of stragglers. For ten days they had been engaged in forced marches on short rations, and had been harried all the way by the thrusting Arabs and by Barrow's division. Wilson ignored them, and galloped on to the centre of the town, where Major Olden of the 10th Regiment supported by two or three officers dismounted at the town hall and formally received the surrender of the city from Emir Said, who on the previous day had taken over its charge from Djemal Pasha, late Commander of the Turks in Palestine. Wilson then led his brigade out by the northern road to Homs and Aleppo, where, in a series of brilliant engagements against the rearguard of the fugitive Turks, he destroyed all enemy troops within nearly 20 miles of Damascus and took upwards of 4,000 prisoners. Meanwhile, the 4th Light Horse regiment had advanced rapidly on the morning of the 31st and captured upwards of 11,000 Turks about the military barracks in Damascus. Altogether nearly 20,000 enemy troops were taken around Damascus. The Arabs came into the city some time after it was entered by the 3rd Australian Light Horse Brigade.

A few days later the 4th and 5th Cavalry Divisions proceeding through the Barada Gorge cleared up the Turks on the Baalbek Plain. Chauvel then led these two divisions northwards to Homs and Aleppo. His troops were all sadly weakened by malaria, influenza, and pneumonia, but still they swept the Turks before them. After the capture of Aleppo, in which the No. 1 Australian Light Car Patrol gave dashing assistance, a halt was called to enable the Australian Mounted

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Division to march up from Damascus. On the 31st October, just before it reached Homs, the Armistice with Turkey was signed.

In this last great advance which brought about almost the entire destruction of three Turkish Armies, no less than 75,000 Turkish prisoners were taken by the British. Of these upwards of 40,000 were captured by the Anzac and Australian Mounted Divisions. During the advance from the Canal to the north in the two and a half years' campaign the Australians and New Zealanders alone took upwards of 50,000 prisoners. They lost themselves less than 100 prisoners to the Turks. Not a single Light Horse officer was captured by the enemy during the campaign.

Early in 1919, as the Australians were waiting in Egypt for transport to their country, trouble broke out in Egypt. The Light Horsemen and New Zealanders were at once called upon for action, and they played a leading and decisive part in the suppression of the disturbance and the restoration of order.

General Allenby, in a discriminating appreciation of the Australian Light Horsemen, which he wrote prior to their return to Australia, said :

'The Australian Light Horseman combined with a splendid physique a restless activity of mind. This mental quality renders him somewhat impatient of rigid and formal discipline, but it confers upon him the gift of adaptability, and this is the secret of much of his success mounted or on foot. In this dual rôle, on every variety of ground—mountain, plain, desert, swamp, or jungle—the Australian Light Horseman has proved himself equal to the best. He has earned the gratitude of the Empire and the admiration of the world.'

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CHAPTER XIII

THE WORK OF THE AUSTRALIAN FLEET

THE genesis of the Royal Australian Navy has been told in the first volume of this work. Apart from considerations of coastal defence, it was the outcome of the growing sense of nationhood in the Commonwealth, of the natural and healthy feeling that Australia should own and control her own warships and the crews that manned them, as she controlled her own land forces, and that no form of money contribution could take the place of personal service. While so far dissenting from the Admiralty doctrine of one sea one fleet under undivided command, none the less from first to last Australia stood by the declarations of her political leaders made when in 1913 the battle-cruiser *Australia* entered Port Jackson—by Mr. Cook's words, 'A squadron none the less Australian because it is Imperial, and none the less Imperial because it is Australian,' and by Mr. Fisher's 'Australian warships shall maintain the honour and integrity of the Empire in any and every sea in the world if necessary'. These words were abundantly made good in the war.

The Australian Navy, as it fought in the war, consisted of the following vessels:

Battle-cruiser: *Australia*, 19,200 tons, 29 knots, 8 12-in. guns.

Light cruisers: *Melbourne*, *Sydney*, *Brisbane* } 5,400 tons, 26 knots, 8 6-in. guns.
Encounter, 5,900 tons, 21 knots, 11 6-in. guns.

Small cruisers: *Pioneer*, 2,200 tons, 17½ knots, 8 4-in. guns.
Psyche, 2,100 tons, 17½ knots, 6 4-in. guns.

Destroyers: *Parramatta*, *Yarra*, *Warrego*, *Huon*, *Swan*, *Torrens* } 700 tons, 27 knots, 1 4-in. gun, 3 18-in. tubes.

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Submarines: AE 1 and 2, 800 tons, 16 knots, 4 tubes.

Gunboats: *Protector*, 920 tons, 14 knots, 3 4-in. guns.
Gayundah, 360 tons, 10½ knots, 1 4·7-in. gun.

Sloops: *Fantome*, 1,000 tons, 2 4-in. guns.
Una, 980 tons, 4 4-in. guns.

The Australian Submarine Depot Ship *Platypus* and the Oil-Tanker *Kurumba* were used by the Admiralty during the war in European waters; and patrol and mine-sweeping services employed 76 other vessels along the Australian coast.

All the ships mentioned above (except the *Platypus* and *Kurumba*) were maintained by Australia and manned by Australians—though in the larger ships a considerable proportion of the crews and officers had been lent by the Royal Navy for Australian service before the war broke out. The *Pioneer* was a present from the Imperial Government. The *Encounter* had been lent for service while the *Brisbane* was still in building; the *Psyche* (a British cruiser) and *Fantome* (a survey ship) were at the Admiralty's request manned by Australians in 1915 and attached to the R.A.N.; the *Una* was originally a German Government yacht used in the islands, taken over by the German Navy at the beginning of the war, and captured by the R.A.N. in October 1914.

At the close of the war the Australian Navy was employing the following personnel:

Royal Australian Navy (seagoing):
325 officers, 4,647 men (including those lent from R.N.).

Royal Australian Naval Brigade:
151 officers (69 mobilized).
4,341 men (2,099 mobilized).

In the discussions that accompanied the creation of an Australian naval unit it was always assumed that during a war it would become part of the Imperial Navy. One Australian Ministry suggested an automatic method of absorption, to become effective in any crisis; another insisted that the matter must be left to the free action of the Federal authorities; but no one doubted that the ships would be transferred in some fashion. Indeed, the whole training and discipline of the squadron were designed to assimilate it to British patterns, so that it could take its place among other British squadrons with the minimum of inconvenience.

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The imminence of war, accordingly, which was first discerned in Australia towards the end of July 1914, was of immediate concern to the naval authorities of the Commonwealth. Even before receiving from the Admiralty a warning message, they had thought out the first steps to be taken not only for the actual defence of Australia but for the successful prosecution of naval war in the Pacific. When war was declared, the flagship (the battle-cruiser *Australia*), the light cruiser *Sydney*, and the destroyer flotilla were already on their way northwards to the Bismarck Archipelago, where they hoped to find the two big cruisers of the German Pacific Squadron; and during the night of the 11th August the destroyers entered and searched the principal German harbour, Blanche Bay, without disturbing the sleep of a single German.

It was obvious that this German squadron must be the main objective of all British warships in Pacific waters. But of its whereabouts nothing was known. One light cruiser was supposed to be off northern China, another almost certainly was on the North American coast; the big ships—the *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*—were at large. Admiral Patey, who commanded the Australian squadron, as soon as he ascertained that they were not in the Bismarcks (their natural base for an attack on Australia), leapt at once to the conclusion that they would do nothing in western waters; they would make, he urged, for the shores of South America, pick up their smaller ships there, and dash straight into the Atlantic, where they could do great damage to British trade. He therefore begged to be allowed to follow them up and bring them to action before they could get away. But the Imperial authorities decided to use his ships to escort military expeditions intended to destroy enemy wireless stations and occupy enemy possessions in the Pacific; and he found himself required to take charge first of a body of New Zealand troops bound for Samoa, then of an Australian expedition that with little fighting seized the chief settlements in the Bismarcks and on the mainland of German New Guinea. During these operations his light cruisers destroyed the wireless stations on Na-uru and Angaur.

All this was done by direct orders from the Admiralty. Although a technical misunderstanding postponed the formal transfer to the 10th August, the squadron had been placed under direct Imperial control from the first moment of war;

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and while the Australian Government and people would much rather have heard that their ships were chasing the *Scharnhorst* and her mate, the Admiralty's decisions were never questioned.

About the middle of September the naval situation suddenly became at once more clear and more tense. The *Emden* appeared in the Bay of Bengal; the German cruisers showed themselves off Samoa. The *Australia* was thereupon detached and sent to Fiji as one link in a chain intended to surround and entrap the cruisers, while the *Melbourne* and *Sydney* were brought back to Port Jackson to serve as escort to a body of 20,000 troops which Australia was offering for service in Europe. Eager though he was to hunt down the two big Germans—and Admiral Von Spee himself stated that the presence of the *Australia* in the Pacific made it necessary for him to leave—Patey was kept near Fiji until the news of the disaster at Coronel located his enemy definitely on the South American coast. He was then allowed to make for Mexico, join other Allied ships there, and sweep down the coast to guard against a break back towards Canada. In fact, the Germans did exactly what Patey had foreseen in August; they passed into the Atlantic, were caught there by Sturdee's squadron and destroyed. The *Australia*, following in their tracks, picked up their store-ship, *Eleonore Woermann*, and was then called to England and made flagship of the Second Battle-cruiser Squadron in the North Sea. There she served for the rest of the war, missing Jutland by the unlucky accident of a serious collision, which, through no fault of her own, put her in dock just at the critical moment.

Meanwhile, the two light cruisers, with a British and a Japanese warship in company, had taken under escort towards the end of October a fleet of thirty-eight transports carrying nearly thirty thousand Australian and New Zealand troops. The *Emden* was still at large; and early in the morning of the 9th November, as the fleet was rounding the Cocos group about 50 miles away, wireless signals were caught from the cable station in the group giving warning of the raider's presence. The *Melbourne*, which was in charge of the convoy, had to stay by her charge; in her place the *Sydney* sped away, caught the *Emden* just leaving her prey, took some damage before it was discovered that the German guns had an extreme elevation which gave them a longer range than had been expected, and

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then stood off and hammered her to pieces. The German captain, who had fought a losing battle with skill and great courage, ran his ship ashore on a small island of the group, and after a while surrendered. The convoy meanwhile proceeded peacefully on its way; and shortly afterwards both the Australian cruisers were detached and hurried to the North Atlantic, where a few enemy raiders still gave trouble. Joining the West Indies and North American Squadron—to which Admiral Patey was now appointed—the two cruisers spent the next eighteen months on patrol between Halifax and Panama, with occasional excursions down the eastern coast of South America.

In the meantime the smaller Australian ships were engaged in work as important as, and even more tedious than, that allotted to their bigger mates in the Atlantic. For German plotters in San Francisco had set on foot a series of intrigues intended to rouse a mutiny in India and support it with contributions of arms and ammunition from the United States. It therefore became necessary to establish in the Bay of Bengal, and in the intricate water passages of the Malay Archipelago, a system of patrol and search that required, to carry it out, a large number of small cruisers and destroyers as well as flotillas of still smaller craft. Australia was asked to man and spare what ships she could for this purpose; and she sent off to join the British China Squadron not only her three destroyers but the old cruiser *Encounter*, the small cruiser *Psyche*, a sloop *Una* (which had been captured from the Germans at Rabaul), and even an old survey-ship, the *Fantome*. This enterprising but mixed collection of warships, of which only the *Una* had been designed for use in hot climates, spent from six months to two years [1] in constant patrol work under the Equator; then the older ships returned to Australia, while the whole destroyer flotilla—now consisting of six—was summoned to the Mediterranean to take part in the anti-submarine campaign of 1917–18.

Nor was it only in the Atlantic and Pacific and the Malay Archipelago that Australian warships served the Empire. Another small cruiser, the *Pioneer* (a relic of days before there was a Commonwealth), was requisitioned by the Admiralty for work on the coast of East Africa, where she helped first in

[1] The *Encounter* was soon sent back to Australia, and the *Una* to patrol in the Bismarcks and the New Hebrides; also the destroyers were after a year relieved by three new destroyers which had been built in Australia.

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the blockade and destruction of the *Königsberg*, and then in the coastal operations against German East Africa. Curiously enough, she probably fired more shots against an enemy than any other Australian ship, except perhaps the *Sydney*. Further, the two submarines, which at the outbreak of war had just joined the squadron, were both lost within a year. The AE 1, accompanying the squadron to Rabaul, was used to patrol the mouth of Blanche Bay, and one evening did not come back. No hostile action is suspected; nothing is known for certain, but it is probable that she rose too close to the overhanging edge of the reef and her thin skin was penetrated by the sharp coral rock. The AE 2, after assisting in the patrol off Fiji, was sent to Europe at the end of December 1914, and attached to the British squadron operating against the Dardanelles. On the 25th April 1915 (a day always to be remembered among Australians) she was dispatched to try her luck in the passage of the Straits. With a certain amount of good fortune and a great deal of skilful navigation she made the passage—the first British ship to do so—and set to work to hunt out Turkish transports and store-ships on their way from Constantinople. But during the dangerous passage some damage had been done; in the Marmora her diving machinery went wrong, and she was forced to come to the surface when chased; her crew sank her and were taken prisoners.

In the lifetime of the *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* the presence of the *Australia* in the South Pacific had operated as a most effective safeguard to Australia and New Zealand. During the early years of the war Australia itself had been untouched by hostile action; indeed, it had scarcely been threatened. Its warships, as we have seen, were dispersed all over the world: its troops had fought in Gallipoli and Egypt and France; but its own soil and its own seas remained untroubled. Its naval authorities, unremitting in watchfulness, had felt themselves justified in relaxing a good many of the more drastic precautions that had been introduced at the beginning of hostilities. The guarding of its coasts was left to a few of the older ships; the *Encounter* (except for her short service in Malay Seas), the little *Protector*, the quite obsolete *Gayundah*, in Port Phillip even the almost prehistoric torpedo-boat *Countess of Hopetoun*. In 1916, it is true, reports that German raiders had reappeared in the Atlantic made the authorities anxious lest they should penetrate to the Indian Ocean also, and an arrangement was

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made with the China Squadron whereby the three older destroyers were sent back to Australia for local patrols as soon as they could be replaced by the three built in the Commonwealth dockyard. But nothing of importance occurred; the newly commissioned *Brisbane* left for Malta, and the whole destroyer flotilla some time afterwards for anti-submarine work in the Mediterranean, without protest from the Australian Government or any sense of impending danger. The Admiralty, it is true, arranged with Japan to send a couple of ships into Australian waters to afford some sort of protection along the otherwise unguarded coastline. But this provision was not congenial to Australian feeling, nor, in actual fact, was it put into practice to any appreciable extent.

During 1917, however, the whole situation in Eastern waters was seriously disturbed. The year began with news of the 'unrestricted' German submarine campaign; then came the news that mine-fields had been found to exist off the Cape of Good Hope and near Bombay, and that a raider was at large somewhere near the Red Sea. While the Australian authorities heeded this warning to the extent of directing shipping along their shores to keep well outside the shallower waters in which mines could be laid, their principal pre-occupation for most of the year was with the arming and routing of transports and other oversea shipping. Suddenly in August untoward incidents began to happen. A transport, the *Cumberland*, was damaged and then sunk by some sort of explosion off Cape Howe; a small steamer, the *Matunga*, disappeared altogether on her way from Australia to Rabaul; news came from New Zealand that another steamer, the *Wairuna*, was long overdue at her destination; and several timber ships seemed to be taking a very long time on their voyage from Puget Sound to Australian ports. These occurrences were not at first collated. The sinking of the *Cumberland* was on early evidence attributed to an internal explosion, possibly to a bomb introduced among the cargo at some Australian port; and from this belief arose a very complete system of supervision over all wharves and shipping. The *Matunga*—since no enemy vessel was suspected within a thousand miles or so—was supposed to have been overwhelmed by a huge tidal wave, or possibly sunk by another bomb in its cargo. The timber ships, after all, were notoriously slow sailers.

Hence, though precautions were doubled and warnings to

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shipping emphasized—since a more careful inquiry into the *Cumberland's* injuries showed that a mine had sunk her—the true explanation of the whole series of events was not known till next year, when a German wireless message announced to the world that the raider *Wolf* had safely returned to Kiel. This vessel, it then appeared, had spent 1917 in laying mines off the Cape, Bombay, Cape Howe in Australia, Cook Strait and North Cape in New Zealand, and the waters adjacent to Singapore. She had also captured several British and Allied vessels, including the *Matunga* and *Wairuna* (this latter with the aid of a seaplane) and the Japanese *Hitachi Maru*. Her captain rather spoilt his story for purposes of credibility by adding gay little inventions about a flight of his seaplane over Sydney harbour and a clever escape from an Australian cruiser —which happened to be quite a long way off at the moment indicated. But of the main facts of his narrative there was no doubt; and his cruise stands as one of the most skilful and successful achievements of enemy raiders during the war, while the mine-fields he laid were a constant danger to shipping and were not completely swept up till long after the war was over.

The *Wolf's* exploits incidentally brought the *Brisbane* back to Australia, as she was hastily dispatched from Malta to the Indian Ocean to search for the unknown mine-layer—in the course of her search making considerable use of a seaplane. When the *Matunga* disappeared, she was used to patrol in New Guinea waters.

Shortly afterwards the remainder of the mysterious delays and disappearances were cleared up. A party of German sailors with a stolen motor-launch was captured in the Fiji group; and it was thus discovered that a second raider had during 1917 visited the Pacific, coming westwards round South America. This was the *See Adler*, a converted merchantman, which had done a good deal of damage to Allied commerce on her voyage down the Atlantic, but which seemed with the passage to another ocean to have lost all her daring; she had been six months in the Pacific without venturing near anything bigger than a timber ship, and ended her career ingloriously by stranding on a small island in the Society group. Part of her crew, including her commander, made an unlucky dash for Fiji; the rest, after unimportant adventures, reached the coast of South America and were interned there.

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These enemy incursions into Australian waters, though they were not repeated, kept the authorities on the alert right up to the end of the war. A hastily improvised and continually improved system of local patrols by small craft at all danger-points protected Australian sea traffic from further raids without warning. But probably the quaintest result of the *Wolf* disclosures was an abnormal crop of enemy aeroplane reports. For months after the press cable messages had published the fictitious seaplane's flight over Port Jackson, it seemed to the hard-worked intelligence staff as if every man, woman, and child who saw two birds flying high must have at once rushed to a telegraph office and reported an enemy plane. There were none, and there never had been any ; but the energy and skill displayed in the investigation of these rumours, and in guarding against the possible dangers involved, cannot be too highly praised.

This narrative has said little of the doings of the bigger Australian warships after 1914. Hardly any one in Australia, outside the crews of the ships concerned, knew what the *Australia* and the *Melbourne* and the *Sydney* were doing from 1915 to 1918 —except that, in general terms, they were on duty with other Imperial ships and took their full share of the toils of naval war. Of the *Australia* we have already spoken ; the two light cruisers were on the North Atlantic patrol till 1916, they were then taken to the North Sea and used, apparently, to shepherd convoys of merchantmen across the dangerous passage to Norway. During this phase of her work the *Sydney* scouted for enemy submarines, and in the course of scouting had an encounter with a Zeppelin. The destroyer flotilla played its part in anti-submarine work with British flotillas at the mouth of the Adriatic, more than once aiding Italian transports in difficulties, but full details have not been so far forthcoming.

At the close of the war the Australian ships were thus distributed :

In British waters : *Australia*, *Melbourne*, *Sydney*, *Platypus*, *Kurumba*.

In the Mediterranean : *Brisbane* and six destroyers.

Patrolling Australian trade routes : *Encounter*, *Fantome*.

Patrolling Bismarck Archipelago : *Una*.

Minor patrols off Torres Strait, Fremantle, Spencer Gulf, Bass Strait, and north-western Australia : *Protector*, *Countess of Hopetoun*, three small steamers, and two ketches.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE AUSTRALIAN NAVAL RESERVES IN NEW GUINEA AND ELSEWHERE

So far we have been dealing solely with the sea-going side of the R.A.N.'s work. There remain to be recounted the services of the Australian Navy's auxiliary forces, formerly known as the Royal Australian Naval Reserve, but during the war renamed the Royal Australian Naval Brigade. While these services were mainly performed in Australia, detachments of the Brigade did notable work overseas also.

The old R.A.N.R. was a body analogous to the R.N.R. But the Reserves of the immediate pre-war period, who became the Brigade, were practically a new body, the counterpart in naval spheres of the Citizen Army on the military side. When Australian boys 14 years old are paraded to begin their compulsory training, the Navy is by law allowed first choice; but in fact no such choice has ever been exercised, for boys have always volunteered for naval training in excess of the numbers required. They constitute the bulk of the Brigade, serving as cadets from 14 to 18, and as adults from 18 to 25. Further, all male Australians employed in the merchant service are liable to be enrolled in the Brigade.

Practically all the shore work connected with the Navy was during the war entrusted to the Brigade, as well as all manner of local patrols and most of the mine-sweeping. It was responsible for the Examination Service at the ports of the six State capitals (besides Newcastle and Thursday Island), which —with the exception of a few months—was continuous from the 3rd August 1914 to the 21st November 1918; for the Port War Signal Stations at the same ports (and at Albany) continuously up to the 2nd December 1918; for harbour patrols at the nine defended ports; for dock defences (guards, booms, and net defences); for the mine-sweeping off the ports, and for an immense amount of naval intelligence work. In 1916 it took over the guarding of wireless stations, and in 1917 the

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guarding of wharves and ships and the examination of all cargo and baggage to prevent attempts at destroying ships by internal explosion. It further supplied crews for the coastal patrol vessels, officers and a great many ratings for the sea-going R.A.N., guns' crews and signallers for defensively armed merchant vessels, telegraphists for the wireless service, and at least 300 volunteers for the A.I.F.

Besides all these duties, the Brigade supplied two detachments for special work overseas which must be mentioned with greater particularity—the Naval Contingent that helped to seize the German Pacific Islands, and the Royal Australian Naval Bridging Train that served with the British IXth Corps at Suvla and afterwards in Egypt.

The Contingent was called for on the 9th August 1914, mobilized by the 15th, and sailed for Rabaul on the 17th—a remarkable performance for a young untried Brigade in the midst of organizing all its other war services. After a few weeks' hasty training on an island off the coast of Queensland, the Contingent (500 in number) was transported to Blanche Bay along with a battalion similarly raised by the military authorities. This combined naval and military force, which was entirely separate from the main Australian force fighting in Gallipoli, France, Palestine, and elsewhere, was known as the Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force. The Naval Brigade was, on arrival at Blanche Bay, allotted to the capture of the German wireless station four miles south of the coastline there—the battalion being entrusted with the capture of the main settlement at Rabaul. It so happened that the German defence scheme (unknown to us, of course,) contemplated the abandonment of Rabaul and concentration on a position near the wireless station, where it was hoped to ambush and destroy any Australian landing parties; consequently all the fighting which took place—not very much, since our forces soon showed themselves too strong to be effectively resisted—fell to the Contingent and a body of sailors from the destroyers. It was an awkward job for untried youngsters. All that was known was that the W/T station was somewhere along a narrow road leading straight into difficult tropical jungle; as the enemy had had plenty of warning, it was sure to be defended, but no one knew how. In actual fact the Germans had mined the road near a sharp

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turn, trenched it just beyond the turn, posted native snipers up trees along the roadside, and stationed an ambush where it could cut off the landing party when held up at the trench. Partly through a series of happy accidents, but mainly by excellent advance scouting, these preparations were nullified and the trench taken with comparatively small losses ; a three-mile advance was made to a second trench, where very slight resistance was offered ; and from thence two young officers with an interpreter and a captured German officer made for the barracks near at hand, captured and disarmed the garrison, and marched their prisoners to the now deserted wireless station, where they locked them up and sat down to wait for relief. This was the only active fighting of the whole occupation, though it took some days to convince the German Governor that surrender was inevitable.

The Bridging Train—which was mainly, though not wholly, drawn from the Brigade—had a much longer and more adventurous career. Raised originally in February 1915 to serve as an Engineer Company with the British Naval Division in Flanders, it found itself in July side-tracked to the Dardanelles, where it was attached to the IXth Corps and took part in the landing at Suvla. There it reorganized the water-supply, created an excellent little harbour, and made a name for versatility in devising expedients and salving wrecks. After the evacuation it was brought back to Egypt and soon reclaimed by the IXth Corps, and put in charge of the southern section of the canal for all engineering and traffic duties—which apparently included, besides the control of bridges, wharves, and military traffic, the construction and control of pumping machinery and filter-beds. In December 1916 a more exciting employment was found for it. Head-quarters had decided on an advance into Palestine along the coast of the Mediterranean, and the Turkish garrison at El Arish had first to be cleared out of the way ; as the British rail-head was 25 miles away across the desert, supplies had to be ensured to the attacking force from the sea and while the attack was going on. It was known that the bight near El Arish was full of mines, and any attempt to sweep for them would have given away the attack before it started. So the Train was told off to make a landing from the sea through the mined area, and at once build jetties and establish communications whereby

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the attackers could be fed and supplied until the light railway was brought across the 25-mile gap. Expeditiously and thoroughly the job was done; but its risks were much diminished by the unexpected retirement of the Turkish garrison inland just before the attack was to be launched.

With the advance into Palestine the need of military control on the canal ceased to exist, and the Australian Train was soon afterwards disbanded; some of its members joining the Australian contingent of the invading army, most returning to Australia to put in further service with the R.A.N. Thus the Train was gradually absorbed into other duties, and its special services forgotten; but its career will always be one of the particular glories of the R.A.N. Brigade.

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SECTION III

GENERAL SUMMARY

BY THE EDITOR

THE total enlistments in the armed forces of Australia numbered 416,809, apportioned as follows among the six States of the Commonwealth :

New South Wales . .	164,030
Victoria	112,399
Queensland . . .	57,705
South Australia . . .	34,959
Western Australia . .	32,231
Tasmania	15,485

All the States seem to have sent fighting men in almost the same proportion to their male population, Western Australia and New South Wales having apparently very slightly the highest ratio ; and the disparity of their populations is shown by the fact that the Mother State, New South Wales, sent many more than Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania combined. Out of the total enlisted, nearly 332,000 crossed the seas, of whom over 59,000 were killed or died, while the total casualties are stated to have exceeded 318,000, and to have been the highest percentage of casualties to enlistments in the Empire. The percentage of the white population who went on active service overseas was almost the same as in Canada, but not so high as in New Zealand. At the date of the Armistice there were approximately 185,000 Australian soldiers overseas, 95,000 in France and Belgium, 60,000 in England, 30,000 in Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia. The number of military distinctions won is variously given, from 13,000 to over 19,000. They included 63 V.C.'s, no fewer than 11 of which were credited to the smallest State, Tasmania. We have Marshal Foch's testimony to 'the magnificent valour' of the Australians. All the world recognized it, but it is of interest to note on the one hand, the ubiquitous character of Australian fighting service, and on the other the special characteristics of the Australian fighters.

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The Australians served and fought almost everywhere, and on sea as well as land. Australia was the one self-governing Dominion which had a fleet that counted. Its record has already been given. It was mainly employed and most usefully employed in patrolling and convoying, all the six Australian destroyers, for instance, being in the latter part of the war at work in the Mediterranean. But it was of the utmost importance that the flagship, the *Australia*, was the heaviest warship in the Pacific in the earliest stages of the war, while German warships were still abroad : one of the new Australian cruisers, the *Sydney*, smashed up the *Emden*, and a little old obsolete cruiser, the *Pioneer*, was very active off the coast of German East Africa, and helped to bottle up and demolish the *Königsberg*.

Africa, outside Egypt, and Salonika were almost the only parts of the world where the Australians did not see land fighting. They had their brush with the Germans in New Guinea, they sent an air squadron to Mesopotamia, there were small parties of picked Australians in the ' Dunsterforce ' and in North Russia. But, treating these as ' side shows ', on the main fronts the Australians were in the van of the fighting, in Gallipoli, in the Sinai Peninsula, in Palestine, as well as in France and Flanders. Although their halt in Egypt, which led to their dispatch to Gallipoli, was not of their own seeking, it all worked out as though, having never known war in their distant home, they were determined to make up for it by entering the world war, and leaving their mark on it, at all points. Great in offence, they were also dour and stubborn defenders, alike at the very beginning of their fighting career, when they held their ground after the landing at Anzac, and in the dark days of 1918, when they did so much to stem the German rush on Amiens. But in 1918 they were no longer raw and inexperienced troops ; they were, like the Canadians, at their highest fighting level, they had learnt in and out the trade of war, and organization and training, superadded to the qualities of body and of character, which Australia had grafted on a British stock, had made them among the most formidable soldiers of the world. Mr. Pearce, the Minister of Defence, referred in the Commonwealth Senate [1] to the ' intrepid individualism ' of the Australian soldier, and the phrase well

[1] 5th May 1920.

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sums up his leading features. Grown at will in the magnificent elbow-room of Australia, the Australian soldier was, in the highest degree, virile, fearless, resourceful, self-dependent, and full of initiative. But the same conditions of life made him self-willed ; in the early days of the war he did not easily lend himself to discipline ; superb in the fighting line, he was somewhat difficult behind it. It was said, not unkindly, of the Australian soldiers, that they ought always to be fighting, and, if there was any truth whatever in the occasional grumble that they were given more than their share of front-line work, the explanation is not far to seek. But great was the Australian's war record, and indomitable and generous was his patriotism. So was the patriotism of the Australian people as a whole. Emphasis has already been laid on the admirable way in which the failure at Gallipoli was taken by the Britons of the Southern Seas. Australia and New Zealand were peculiarly concerned. The citizens of the Commonwealth were a young people, confident and critical, exuberant and outspoken. They were balked, after a very heavy death-roll, in their first essay in arms on a great scale, through no fault of theirs. Criticism would have been natural, but they had the uncomplaining tenacity of their race, uncomplaining as long as the fight was not won. So it was again when the clouds were low in 1918, ' the whole bearing of the Australian people was in keeping with the spirit and attitude of the British race'. It was not in fighting only that Australians and New Zealanders rose to greatness.

The strange inconsistencies of the British race, as well as its merits, were strongly in evidence in this ultra-democratic all-British Dominion. Before the war Australians, labour men and all, would have universal military training, when it would not have been looked at in the United Kingdom. But in the war, under stress of the war, when they were determined to win the war, they would not have conscription, although it had come to pass in Great Britain, in anti-militarist Canada, and in neighbouring New Zealand. It has been seen that various special causes in part accounted for what took place. But there was also one general cause. In this matter, as in everything else, the Australians meant to go their own way. Of all stocks in the world the British stock can least be driven, and of all British peoples in the world the Australians can least be driven.

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The distance of Australia from the Old Country and from the main battle-fronts prevented it from being, like Canada, a great scene of munition factories for the general purposes of the war; but Australia sent to England some 10,000 munition and war workers, whose 'sustained and steady application' was recognized and commended in a Royal message. What Australia could produce was ever at the service of the Mother Country, and in turn the Mother Country did good service to Australia by providing an assured market at assured prices for Australian products. Close and friendly co-operation within the Empire, development of local resources in consequence of difficulties of transport, were all in evidence in Australia as elsewhere, and if the difficulties arising from the presence of two nationalities, which were experienced in Canada and South Africa, were absent from this all-British Dominion, there was a peculiarly intransigent section among the Irish in Australia, especially in Queensland and New South Wales, which in the name of Labour developed a revolutionary character, increasingly opposed both to the war and to the Empire. This attitude was strongly resented by the large majority of those enrolled under the Labour banner, particularly by the men serving at the Front, and it was only their absence that enabled the irreconcilables to obtain notoriety.

In the political history of Australia as affected by the war the most outstanding feature has already been sufficiently noted. It was the additional strength given to the Central Government and the Central Legislature. Everywhere the war had a centralizing influence for the time being: it could not be otherwise: it was dictated by the instinct of self-preservation. But, because of the looseness of the Federation, it was of special importance in Australia. Power tended to pass from the States to the Commonwealth, and Australia tended to become one to a much greater degree than before. The war hastened up the completion of railway communication from west to east, all the movement was towards the centre, towards closer unity. What the war did elsewhere it did in a special degree in Australia, it went far to completing a nation.

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PART II

NEW ZEALAND

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SIR JOSEPH WARD

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SECTION I

NEW ZEALAND AND THE WAR

BY THE EDITOR

THE Dominion of New Zealand entered upon the war with a white population of over a million and under 1,100,000, and some 50,000 Maoris. In the white population the foreign element was insignificant. The latest pre-war census, taken in 1911, returned seven-tenths of the white citizens as born in New Zealand, and more than two-thirds of the remainder as born in the United Kingdom. Among those born in foreign countries Germans headed the list, but they numbered no more than 4,000. The Maoris had long settled down into peaceful citizens, as true to the Dominion and to the Empire as the white race itself. They had their representatives in the Legislature and in the Ministry. No self-governing Dominion had so well adjusted the relations between the colonists and the coloured children of the soil.

New Zealand combined, in perhaps a greater degree than any other Dominion, democracy of the most advanced kind with loyalty to the Crown and Empire, unquestioning and unquestioned. In the South African War no Dominion had been more unfaltering in determination to weather the crisis and in raising contingents for that purpose; while no overseas soldiers achieved higher repute in that war than the New Zealanders. In the years which followed, Mr. Seddon and his successor, Sir Joseph Ward, at Imperial Conferences, stood at the high-water mark of Imperial partnership: and it has been told in the first volume how the German menace to British sea supremacy was promptly answered by New Zealand, then under Sir Joseph Ward's leadership, with a splendid gift to the Royal Navy, for which no *quid pro quo* was asked, and to which no conditions were attached. Yet the democracy of New Zealand was very democratic: the people were most emphatically masters in their own house. So democratic were the Liberals that the call for a separate Labour Party was long

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delayed ; and, prior to the General Election of 1911, Labour, as a distinct political organization, played little or no part in the parliamentary life of the Dominion, though Labour interests largely shaped the policy of Governments and were embodied in many laws.

In social and industrial conditions, in political development and outlook, New Zealand resembled Australia, but with distinctive features of her own. For the reason given, Labour had never borne rule in New Zealand, and the Second Chamber of the Legislature was not on an elective basis. But, as in Australia, Parliaments were triennial, and adult franchise of women as well as men prevailed, while legislation had been carried further than in Australia in the direction of State Socialism. The Dominion had the advantage of the Commonwealth, in that its population was more evenly spread. There were no overshadowing cities of predominant size, no contrasts so strong as between the great centres of Sydney or Melbourne and the remote back-blocks of the island continent. Like Australia, New Zealand had Pacific possessions or dependencies beyond her own shores, and a Pacific policy, which gave to the Dominion, as to the Commonwealth, a special concern with Germany, over and above the concern which was shared with the Empire at large. Trade with Germany, prior to the war, had been growing greatly, New Zealand wool, kauri gum, and scheelite ore finding a profitable market in the German Empire : but German ' penetration ' had not been carried so far as in the Commonwealth. Like Australia, New Zealand had provided for her home defence on the principle of compulsory military training, had been visited and advised in the matter by Lord Kitchener, and inspected by Sir Ian Hamilton, whose visit ended exactly two months before the war came to pass.

For thirteen years consecutively, including the years of the South African War, Mr. Seddon, by birth a Lancashire man, led the Liberal Party in New Zealand, and, as Prime Minister, shaped its politics on socialistic lines. He was an advanced Radical, and an equally pronounced Imperialist : a forceful man who, so said his critics, lowered the standard of political life in the Dominion, but who was an undoubted asset to the Empire as an outspoken advocate of constructive Imperialism —not the only statesman from the Southern Seas who has

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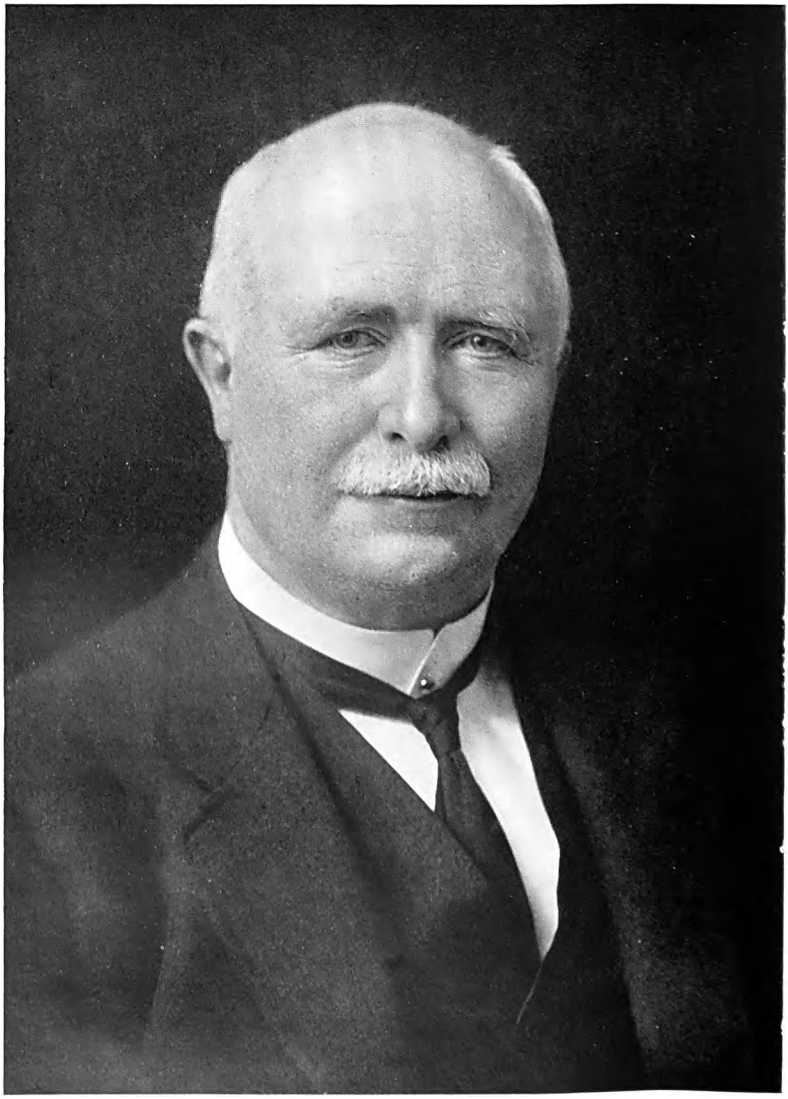

W. F. MASSEY

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rendered similar service. When he died in 1906, his successor, for nearly six years, was Sir Joseph Ward, who had been a leading member of his Cabinet, who represented New Zealand at the Imperial Conferences of 1907 and 1911 and at the Naval and Military Conference of 1909, and who at those Conferences, no less than by the gift of the Dreadnought, kept New Zealand prominently in the van of Imperial partnership. Australian born, he was a man of 58 when the war came, vigorous, capable, and of good address, outspoken in his views, but skilled by long experience in the art of party politics. A General Election, held at the end of 1911, left parties equally balanced, and in the following March he resigned office. For two or three months his colleague, Mr. (now Sir) Thomas MacKenzie, was Prime Minister with a reconstructed Ministry; but in July he too resigned, and was shortly afterwards appointed to be High Commissioner for New Zealand in London —a post which he filled throughout the difficult years of war with tact, ability, and marked success. The Opposition, under the name of the Reform Party, now, after many years' wandering in the wilderness, reached the Promised Land; and their leader, Mr. William Massey, a man of the same age as Sir Joseph Ward, became Prime Minister. He was of yeoman stock from County Derry; leaving school at the age of 14, he followed his parents to New Zealand in 1870: there he farmed and entered Parliament as a representative of the farming interest, a solid, straight, and resolute Ulsterman.

His right-hand man in the new Ministry was Colonel (now Sir James) Allen, afterwards High Commissioner for New Zealand, who was born in South Australia, but received a public school and university training in England, and who brought into New Zealand politics high character and sound good sense, which commanded general confidence and respect. Massey had but a slender majority as against Liberals, Labour, and free lances, but he carried on the Government successfully. He passed, among other measures, a Bill which made the Legislative Council an elective body, and which became law in November 1914, though it was not actually put into force; and his Ministry gave close attention to defence, especially on the naval side. In 1912–13 Allen, as Minister of Defence, visited England to confer with the Imperial Government on naval and other defence questions, and meanwhile the battle-

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cruiser *New Zealand* visited the Dominion, which gave her to the Navy and whose name she bore.

In 1914 the Parliamentary Session opened on the 25th of June. It was the last Session of the existing Parliament, for a General Election was due at the end of the year. In the last days of July submarine cables and wireless messages brought warnings of imminent war into the Southern Seas. All the world over, under the water and in the air, came forerunners of war, as later on came war itself. On the 31st the Prime Minister made his first war pronouncement in the House of Representatives, to the effect that, in the event of war, Parliament and people would be asked to send an Expeditionary Force. Sir Joseph Ward on behalf of the Opposition gave the fullest assurance of support in all that was necessary to uphold the Empire: and the whole House rose to the occasion as one man. The past record of New Zealand had left no doubt whatever as to what part would be played by the Dominion in the time of trouble. Differences of party, class, and creed were on the vital issue sent to sleep: there was one mind and one heart and concerted action for the common cause. As in the case of all the Dominions, on the eve of the war and at the beginning of the war, telegrams passed to and from the Imperial Government, the Dominion offering, the Mother Country accepting, no unnecessary questions being asked, no stipulations being made: in time of common danger the Empire does not bargain. Various precautions were taken in advance of war, as announced by the Prime Minister in the House of Representatives on the 4th of August. On the previous day, the 3rd, the Naval Reserves had been called for active service, and the cruiser *Philomel* passed under Admiralty control. On the 5th the King's message to the Overseas Dominions was read by the Governor, Lord Liverpool, to an assemblage of some 12,000 people in front of Parliament House at Wellington. He read, too, the historic reply that 'come good or ill', New Zealand, 'in common with the Dominions and other dependencies of the Crown, is prepared to make any sacrifices to maintain her heritage and her birthright', and finally he read the brief plain cable message, 'War has broken out with Germany'. Thereupon, with full parliamentary sanction, the composition of an Expeditionary Force was settled in accordance with War Office wishes, New Zealand

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charging herself with the whole cost, inclusive of transport. Mobilization proceeded apace, and from farm and station, from shop and office, volunteers eager for foreign service poured in. On the 15th of August the first troops, some 1,400 in number, left for an unknown destination which proved to be Samoa, now mandated to New Zealand. Before the end of August the main contingent of 7,000 to 8,000 men with half as many horses for the mounted brigade and artillery, largely given by private citizens, was waiting impatiently for a convoy to speed them on their way to Europe, leaving ultimately on the 15th and 16th of October. The beginning of September brought an acceptance from the War Office of Maori offers for active service. How New Zealanders fought on many fields and on many fronts forms a separate narrative. Here it is proposed to tell the non-combatant story of the Dominion and its people during the war, the politics and the finance, the contributions in men, money, and kind.

A student of overseas politics and parliaments cannot but be struck by the number of laws passed in New Zealand. The State controls almost everything and everybody, and registers its control in the Statute Book. No sooner is a law passed than it is amended and again amended. The Session of 1914 was prolific in legislation, apart from the war, and the war was responsible for various additional measures. The first Act in this latter category, which became law on the 10th of August, provided for the regulation of trade and commerce in time of war.

It gave power to fix maximum prices and to prohibit exports by Order in Council, power to requisition goods and to appoint Commissions of Inquiry, *inter alia*, into the prices and supplies of goods—a section under which a Foodstuffs Commission was appointed. It also empowered the Government to suspend or modify industrial awards and the operation of Factory Acts, and it prohibited trading with the enemy. The provisions under this last heading were superseded later in the Session by a separate Trading with the Enemy Act, having effect up to the end of 1915, in which year an amending Act was passed. In 1915 also two Acts were passed amending the main trade and commerce regulation law. Another Act passed in the 1914 Session was a War Regulation Act ' to make better provision for the public safety '. It was concerned more especially with the

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powers and duties of the Defence Forces and the Police. Twice it was amended in 1915 and yet again in 1916. In various respects, by various laws, in this first busy Session of the war, the rights of the men on active service, both white and coloured, were safeguarded—their rights as electors, as contributors to the National Provident Fund, as members of friendly societies. A Mortgages Extension Act, twice amended in the course of the Session and yet again in 1915, was designed to protect mortgagors against harsh pressure in time of war. A War Risk Insurance Act was passed ; a Patents Amendment Act, aimed against enemy holders of patents ; and a Remounts Encouragement Act, to stimulate the breeding of horses for military purposes.

The outburst of generosity which the war called forth throughout the Empire was very marked in New Zealand. The whole community, individuals, firms, societies, public bodies, literally rushed into giving. Some short account of New Zealand War Funds and benefactions will be attempted later. Here it may be said that the gifts, whether in money or in kind, came under two main categories. The first included gifts directly for war purposes. A Patriotic or Empire Defence Fund was set on foot at the very beginning of the war, intended primarily for the benefit of the Expeditionary Force, though in this matter, as in all others, New Zealand pooled her resources with the Empire generally. The second category included gifts in relief of distress arising from the war outside the Dominion, and this category may again be subdivided into gifts in relief of foreign peoples, and gifts to relieve distress in the Mother Country. The case of the Belgians appealed to all the peoples of the Empire, and, over and above voluntary funds which were raised in New Zealand on their behalf, the Dominion Parliament in the Appropriation Act of November 1914 granted a sum of £20,000 to their cause. As has been stated elsewhere, a very gracious side of Empire citizenship was illustrated by the prompt and spontaneous forethought of the Overseas Dominions and Colonies for the needs of the Mother Country when war came to pass : their ready appreciation that conditions of living in the United Kingdom would be straitened by the war. It was evidence of family feeling in its kindliest and most generous form, as human and unaffected as in a private household. Anxiety to send food supplies to

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England led to an application from certain local bodies in New Zealand for statutory power to contribute from their revenues to funds raised in aid of the war and of distress caused by the war. A War Contributions Validation Act was accordingly passed, empowering both corporations and non-corporate bodies to contribute to an Empire Defence Fund or otherwise, such contributions to be paid into a War Expenses Account which had been created by another Act to be presently mentioned. A little later in the Session the terms of this Validation Act were widened by an amending law, which authorized bodies, whether corporate or non-corporate, to pay contributions into any fund constituted or approved by the Government either for the relief of distress caused by the war, or for any patriotic object approved by the Government. This second Act became law in October 1914: a year later its terms were modified by a Comprehensive War Funds Act.

The War Expenses Account, to which reference has been made, was called into being by an Act of the 14th of August 1914, the Public Revenues Amendment Act. This Act empowered the Government to borrow on Treasury Bills up to £2,000,000 during the current financial year, which ended on the 31st of March 1915. The borrowed money was to be paid into two accounts, the Public Works Fund, and a special account called the War Expenses Account, 'in such proportions as the Minister of Finance determines'; and it was provided that 'all moneys paid into the War Expenses Account, pursuant to this Section, shall, without further appropriation, be expended for such purposes as the Minister of Defence thinks fit, in connexion with the Defence of New Zealand or of any other part of the British Empire, or for the purpose of assisting in the carrying on of any war in which His Majesty is for the time being engaged'. It will be noted that the widest discretion was given to the Ministers of Finance and Defence; and when the two offices were held by one and the same man, as was the case when the Act was passed, Colonel Allen being charged with both duties, extraordinary powers were placed in his hands. It will be noted further that under the law New Zealand interests were characteristically coupled with those of the Empire. This was the beginning of War Finance in the Dominion. In the matter of borrowing the Imperial Government gave similar facilities to New Zealand as to the

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other Dominions, and lent £5,250,000 on the same terms as those on which Great Britain could borrow. Prior to the war the net Public Debt of New Zealand was not far short of £92,000,000—a large amount of indebtedness in proportion to the population.

The Government had no difficulty in carrying whatever measures were thought necessary for the prosecution of the war and to meet its exigencies. The Opposition abstained from criticism and gave most loyal support. On one occasion only was there a sharp divergence of view. Sir Joseph Ward took exception to the ordinary annual financial statement being made, on the ground that it must necessarily contain much contentious matter which at a time of national crisis ought to be shelved: and when it was presented on the 6th of August, he and his supporters left the House. It was a reassuring account of the finances of the Dominion. The war found New Zealand sound and prosperous, and when the first inevitable dislocation of business had been adjusted, the country continued to prosper. Shortage of wheat, however, and consequent high prices caused some difficulty; and, while foodstuffs were being shipped to Europe, the Government found it necessary to import wheat from Australia and Canada.

Parliament adjourned on the 5th of November 1914: on the 10th of December the General Election took place. It had been suggested, more especially from the side of the Opposition, that the Election should be postponed, but there were constitutional objections, among others, to postponement, and the poll took its course. Under the circumstances the contest was half-hearted, except in the case of Labour extremists; for Government and Opposition had practically the same policy, before all and above all to win the war: and the result was something like a political deadlock, the Government having a majority of two only over Liberals and Labour combined. The new Parliament met on the 24th of June 1915. By this date the whole Empire had begun to see the war in true perspective. Dreams of a short sharp struggle had vanished: the heavy toll taken of the New Zealanders at Gallipoli had brought home to New Zealand the gravity of the fighting, the need for effort on a great scale, for endurance long and continued. Outside Parliament parties counted for little

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in the face of facts: balance of power meant weakness of action: all pointed to political concentration.

The Governor's speech at the opening of Parliament foreshadowed no controversial legislation, and no division was taken on the Address. On the 29th of June the Prime Minister made the first suggestion in the House for a National Cabinet, but party feeling obstructed union for some weeks, and no agreement had been reached at the end of July. The Governor then used his good offices. On the 4th of August the Prime Minister informed the House that a National Government had been formed or was in process of formation. Sir Joseph Ward, as leader of the Opposition, followed, emphasizing the fact that it was not a Coalition Ministry but a National Government with a National Cabinet. After a patriotic motion called forth by the anniversary of the Declaration of War, the House adjourned till the 19th of August; and when it met again all the details of the new order had been completed and were duly announced. Massey remained Prime Minister, Ward took over from Allen the charge of Finance, and Allen retained the exacting office of Minister of Defence. The other offices were shared between Reformers and Liberals, the small Labour Party standing aloof.

Before the new Ministry was formed, some laws were passed, and the creation of a Secret Defence Committee, consisting of eleven members, which, as it turned out, had but a short life, was announced in the House on the 30th of June. As soon as the two parties had combined, parliamentary work went forward apace. The war legislation of the Session included various Acts amending the laws of 1914: Acts which further promoted the two objects of rooting out enemy influence in the Dominion and safeguarding the rights and interests of men on active service, and measures called forth by new conditions. In February there had been a conference to consider a request from the Belgian Relief Committee in England for continued and continuous help. It resulted in a request to the Government to supplement voluntary contributions for the purpose by proportionate monthly subsidies from the Treasury, and in the suggestion that a central authority should be established by the Minister of Finance, to control all contributions for relief or Red Cross work, whether in money or in kind. This was the origin of the War Funds Act which has been already

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mentioned, a War Fund being widely defined as any fund 'raised wholly or in part by private subscription for any purpose in connexion with the present war'. The Act created a National War Funds Council under the Chairmanship of the Minister charged with carrying out the provisions of the law, and the Council was to be supplemented by local Advisory Committees. Trustees of War Funds might pay over their moneys to the War Fund Account of the Council; if not, they were made amenable to the Minister for the proper conduct of their funds, and permits were required for soliciting contributions.

Reference had been made in the Governor's Speech to the losses in the Dardanelles and to the necessity of making provision by pension or otherwise for the families of the killed and for disabled men and their dependants. A War Pensions Act was accordingly passed at the beginning of August, under which a War Pensions Board was constituted: and later in the Session the interests of fighting men were further safeguarded by passing a Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act. Both these Acts were amended in later Sessions.

The laws told the tale of the war, as it grew in dimensions. On the 1st of July the Minister of Defence stated that, relatively to population, New Zealand stood in front of Canada and Australia in the number of troops dispatched and the number in training. The original Expeditionary Force, other than the contingent sent to Samoa, and including the first reinforcement which accompanied it, numbered 8,500 men. Four more bodies of reinforcements were sent from December 1914 to June 1915, and on the 4th of August 1915 it was announced in the House that the total number of troops sent across the seas, equipped and trained, had amounted to 19,560 men, including 500 Maoris. The Government, moreover, had offered two additional battalions of infantry, numbering 2,250 men. Month by month, under stress of war, and from growing appreciation of the magnitude of the war, in New Zealand, as elsewhere in the Empire, the people gradually became a nation in arms. New Zealanders had always in a peculiar degree identified their interests with those of the Empire: but, if they did not need to be taught the lesson, at least the war emphasized it, that the security of the part is involved in the security of the whole, that in a world-wide war home defence is merged

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in foreign service. Hence a system devised for home defence was necessarily widened to cover foreign service, and what was in the beginning, in fact as in name, an Expeditionary Force, became in reality the army of the nation. This was the meaning of the Expeditionary Forces Act, passed in this Session of 1915, and defined as an Act to make provision for the raising of Expeditionary Forces for service abroad during the present war, while a Defence Amendment Act, among other provisions, gave legal recognition to a voluntary organization known as a National Reserve 'established for military training and military service within New Zealand'.

Compulsion was still, as before the war, confined to military service within the Dominion. The soldiers who went beyond the seas, all went of their own free will. But, like the Mother Country and like the Commonwealth, New Zealand recognized the necessity for a national stock-taking: hence was passed a National Registration Act. In fathering the Bill the Prime Minister declared himself as not in favour of conscription, unless conscription was the only alternative to defeat, and inasmuch as the principle of conscription was not involved, the Bill became law without much difficulty. It provided for a National Register of all males resident in New Zealand between the ages of 17 and 60, and enacted that men between the ages of 19 and 45 might be required to give information as to whether they had already volunteered or were willing to volunteer for military service outside New Zealand. The result of putting this section into force was to ascertain that there were 110,000 men in the Dominion willing, if required, to become members of an Expeditionary Force, who had not so far volunteered, and over 43,000 ready to serve in a civil capacity. Men were wanted and money was wanted. One of the first Acts of the Session had been a Public Revenues Amendment Act, which authorized borrowing at not exceeding 5 per cent. up to £10,000,000 to be paid into the War Expenses Account: and, after the National Government had been formed, the new Finance Minister, Sir Joseph Ward, who, when Prime Minister, had also taken charge of finance, dealt with ways and means in an exhaustive financial statement made in the House on the 26th of August. The accounts for the Financial Year 1914–15, while Allen was still Finance Minister, showed a small balance on the right side. At the close of the

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year the net Public Debt of the Dominion was a little short of £97,000,000. The war expenditure had exceeded the two millions estimated for the purpose, and stood on the 31st March at about £2,150,000, the excess being covered early in the following Session by a Public Expenditure Validation Act. By the 30th June the cost of the war had risen to £3,500,000. Ward estimated for a decrease in revenue in 1915–16, as compared with the previous year, of fully £750,000: he contemplated new expenditure of £1,000,000 for war pensions; and he proposed to find £2,000,000 of additional revenue by fresh taxation. The graduated land-tax was increased by 50 per cent.: the graduated income-tax was raised, the maximum being fixed at 2*s.* in the £ in lieu of 1*s.* 4*d.*, and a super-tax being added of 33⅓ per cent., with the net result of an income-tax varying from 8*d.* to 2*s.* 8*d.* in the £. Post, telegraph, and railway rates, stamp and death duties, were all increased. Under Customs and Excise additional duties were levied, imposed as far as possible upon luxuries, on motor-cars, petrol, and kerosine: on beer, spirits, even upon non-alcoholic liquors; and horse-racing, dear to the hearts of New Zealanders, was subjected to a new war tax of 2½ per cent. upon totalizator dividends.

It was a bold and far-reaching Budget, making ample provision for a war whose end was no longer held to be in sight. Ward cast his net wide and laid his hand heavily on all sorts and conditions of taxpayers. But the taxpayers were both willing and able to pay. All classes in the community were resolved to make any and every sacrifice to win the war. The public at large was leading the Government, more than the Government was leading them; and, while New Zealand was contributing willingly and lavishly to the war, the war in turn was bringing riches to New Zealand. The cost of living had increased, but not to the same extent as elsewhere. In 1914 the exports had largely exceeded the imports in value. In 1915 the excess was still greater, the exports in that year being, as measured in money, by far the highest per head of population of any country in the world. In other words, as tested in pounds, shillings, and pence, New Zealand was selling more and buying less than before the war. It was not that the volume of exports had increased, but that the prices of the staple products of the Dominion had greatly risen. Wool was

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in high demand, with corresponding returns to the sheep farmers, very many of whom gave a considerable proportion of their profits to establish a fund known as the New Zealand Sheepowners' Acknowledgement of Debt to British Seamen Fund.[1] By arrangement between the Dominion and the Home Governments, the whole frozen meat supply of New Zealand was, as from the beginning of March 1915, commandeered for Imperial purposes during the continuance of the war on excellent terms for producers and exporters. One-third of the cheese was taken in a similar way. Later the whole wool clip of the year 1916–17 was bought by the British Government at 55 per cent. over pre-war prices, and all the wool was taken up to 1920. Scheelite again, which before the war the Germans had specially coveted, was in 1915–16 bought up for the Home Government, molybdenum and kauri gum were in similar demand. In short, what the war demanded New Zealand could supply, greatly to the benefit of New Zealanders.

From the 3rd of March 1915 onward the control of the various contracts for the purchase of New Zealand produce by the Imperial Government was entrusted to a Department of Imperial Government Supplies, and, in addition to acting for the British Government in New Zealand, this department did work and made purchases for the New Zealand Government. The Report of the department for the year ended the 31st March 1921, in which year the main contracts came to an end, showed that its total disbursements had amounted to no less than £158½ millions, which went into the pockets of New Zealand producers and merchants.

The Session of 1916 opened at an earlier date than usual, on the 9th of May. A very brief Governor's speech intimated that it was to be as far as possible exclusively a War Session, that legislation was to be confined to meeting the calls of the war. Accordingly, the number of laws passed was very small, as compared with the prolific law-making of former years. But not a few of them were of the nature of omnibus legislation, dealing collectively with a variety of subjects which had no connexion whatever with each other, except that the different provisions were all called into existence by special war conditions. Thus a War Regulations Amendment Act authorized

[1] This fund in 1922 amounted to £179,000, and its benefits were accruing in the United Kingdom as well as New Zealand.

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regulations as to enemy trade and property, as to powers of attorney granted by members of the Expeditionary Force, and provided at some length for the better control of sale of intoxicating liquors during the war—a most controversial matter. A War Legislation Amendment Act covered even wider ground—land laws, education, war funds, and a number of other most diverse subjects. The Appropriation Act, again, contained an important section, empowering the Government to raise the duties on imported wheat and flour, if an increase was found necessary in order to prevent unfair competition by importers with the home producers. One or two specific Acts of previous sessions were specifically amended. A War Pensions Amendment Act, among other provisions, increased the rates of pensions to children of dead or disabled soldiers. A Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Amendment Act widened the scope of the principal law: a section of the Appropriation Act set aside £20,000 for making roads to the lands to be allotted to discharged soldiers, while a chapter in a Native Land Amendment and Native Claims Adjustment Act provided for the acquisition of lands for the settlement of discharged Maori soldiers.

But the main work of the Session was embodied in three laws, all strictly relevant to the war. One of them prolonged the life of Parliament for a year. Canada, Australia, and South Africa were bound by the terms of their Federation Acts, and could not postpone a dissolution without having recourse to an Act of the Imperial Parliament for the purpose: but it was within the competence of the New Zealand Legislature to lengthen the normal term of three years. Inasmuch as the Government represented the two main political parties in the Dominion, a General Election could serve no useful purpose, and would have involved needless expense, together with waste of time, and distraction from the one thing needful, effective prosecution of the war. Still the measure was not unopposed, the second reading being carried in the House by 41 votes to 16.

The prime needs of the war were all summed up in terms of men and money. The National Register, taken under the 1915 Act, gave full details as to the man power of New Zealand, and at the beginning of 1916 a recruiting board, consisting of the three principal ministers, Massey, Ward, and Allen, was constituted to give every chance to the voluntary system.

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But experience in New Zealand told the same tale as in other countries which were parties to the war, that when campaign follows campaign, a nation in arms can neither put forth its maximum effort, nor do equal justice to its citizens, without some legal measure of compulsion. On the 16th of May the Prime Minister informed the House that the Conscription Bill in Great Britain had passed the House of Commons, and ten days later, on the 26th, Allen, as Minister of Defence, moved the second reading of a Bill 'to make further provision for the raising and maintenance of Expeditionary Forces during the present war'. It will be remembered that by this date the Gallipoli peninsula had been evacuated, and that the main body of New Zealand troops had been sent to France. White New Zealanders, and coloured too—for the Maori contingent, after garrison duty in Malta, had been moved on to Gallipoli—had left behind many of their numbers in graves which told of fruitless gallantry, but there was no murmuring among the citizens of the Southern Seas. By the middle of March 1916 the casualties numbered over 8,200, exceeding the total of the original Expeditionary Force, and among the casualties were 2,600 deaths. In the middle of the previous December 1915 the fighting men sent across the seas numbered 25,000: the strength of the Expeditionary Force had been largely increased, and reinforcements had been steadily sent at the rate of about 1,800 men in every two months. With the opening of 1916 and the transfer of the New Zealanders to France, the Dominion made itself responsible for a division of fully 20,000 men, and in addition there was a mounted brigade, which won great renown from the Nile to the Jordan. When Allen commended to the House the Military Service Bill on the 26th of May 1916, he told his hearers that at that date 46,000 New Zealanders had been equipped and dispatched on overseas service, that 11,000 more were in training, and that every month reinforcements of nearly 2,200 men would be required to keep the contingents up to strength. A little later, on the 4th of August, when the war was exactly two years old, the Prime Minister stated that 52,000 men had crossed the sea, and that the monthly reinforcements required were about 2,500 men. It was a great strain upon a population of about 1,100,000 all told, and the case for systematic use and economy of man power was peculiarly strong. The Bill constituted an Expeditionary

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Force Reserve, consisting of all natural born male citizens between the ages of 20 and 46, who were not specifically exempted. There were two divisions of this Reserve, the first including unmarried men and widowers with no young children dependent upon them. The Expeditionary Forces were to be kept up to strength by ballot among the reservists, if and when the necessary number could not be obtained by voluntary enlistment. Military Service Boards were created to hear appeals, and provision was made for a final Appeal Board. It was an equitable measure, skilfully devised and tactfully handled by the Minister in charge. The half-dozen Labour Members, with one exception, fought it hard; otherwise it met with general acceptance, and on the 1st of August passed into law, which was brought into operation in the following November.

On the 31st of March 1916, when the financial year ended, the Public Debt of New Zealand had risen to nearly £106,000,000. Ward brought in the 1916–17 Budget on the 16th of the following June. His financial statement was encouraging. Whereas his previous Budget had contemplated a falling revenue, and he had set himself to secure an additional £2,000,000 by war taxation, the year had ended with a surplus of more than that sum. The season had been favourable; the sea had been kept open; the value of exports had been phenomenal. Still the Minister looked ahead, and, estimating that the cost of the war would soon reach £1 million a month, again he added to the taxation. Revising and consolidating the land and income taxes in a voluminous law, which supplemented the Finance Act, he once more increased the income-tax by from 2½ to 5 per cent., adding 6*d*. in the £ on incomes under £900 per annum (incomes under £300 being still exempted), 1*s*. in the £ on higher incomes. He also imposed an Excess Profits Duty on excess profits made in war time, expecting to realize £2 millions of additional revenue from this source. The duty was levied on all excess profits, and not merely on profits directly accruing from the war, but it did not fulfil expectations, and was dropped when the next Budget came round. It was then shown that the land and income-taxes provided between one-quarter and one-third of the revenue, the income-tax bringing in six times as much revenue as the land tax, the receipts from which were diminished by the abolition of the tax on mortgages. The new

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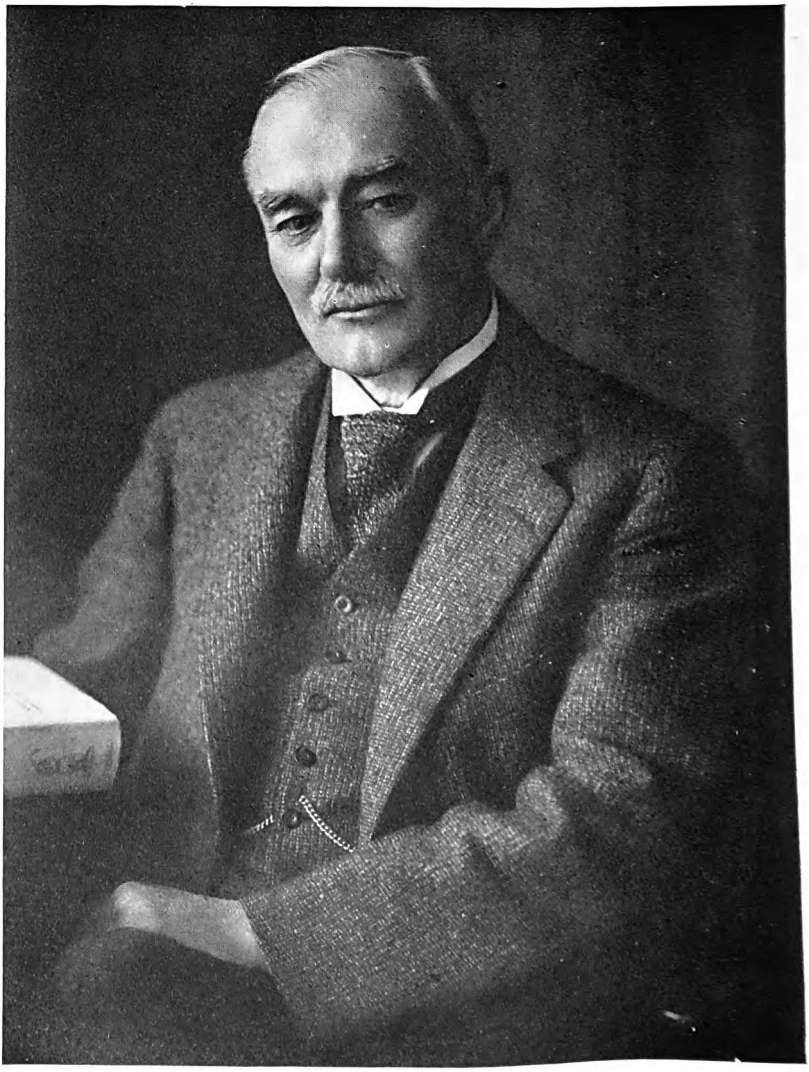

SIR JAMES ALLEN

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taxes, including a small increase in stamp duties, were embodied in the Finance Act, and that Act empowered borrowing for war purposes up to £16,000,000. Hitherto the money required for the war had been mainly advanced by the Imperial Government, which, up to the beginning of May 1916, had lent New Zealand £8,500,000. The time had now come to borrow money within the Dominion. War Bonds were to be on sale at 4½ per cent., free of income-tax: War Loan Certificates for £1 and £10, to be obtained at the Post Offices, figured in the Finance Act: later in the year the first War Loan for £8,000,000 was placed on the New Zealand market, being over subscribed by much more than a million; and eventually over 11 out of the 16 millions were borrowed in New Zealand.

Parliament had been summoned early in 1916, in order to enable Massey and Ward to visit England. They left in August, as soon as the Session was over. Ward had repeatedly crossed the sea to attend Imperial Conferences, but this was Massey's first visit to the Old Country since he left it as a boy. They had intended to start back in December, but the change of Government in the United Kingdom, and the decision to hold an Imperial War Conference in the early months of 1917, delayed their return; and they were absent for about ten months, landing again in New Zealand on the 25th of June 1917. It was greatly to the advantage of the Dominion to be represented at the War Conference and in the Imperial War Cabinet by the two leaders of the two main political parties working hand in hand, and Ward's long experience of Imperial Conferences was a valuable asset. On this occasion New Zealand was much more fortunate than Australia, being very fully represented in the Councils of the Empire at a peculiarly critical time, whereas political conditions in Australia precluded any representation of the Commonwealth. During the absence of the two leaders Sir James Allen acted as Prime Minister. It was not an uneventful time. The Military Service Act was put into force: a National Efficiency Board went to work, one of the many war-time organizations called into existence in the belligerent countries with the laudable object, not usually attained, of making the most and the best of men and things: it had advisory powers only, and was reconstituted a year later. There was a shortage of wheat, again necessitating purchase of a supply from Australia; and in April 1917 there

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was a coal miners' strike, avowedly directed against conscription. It did not last long; but it was an unpleasing reminder that even in whole-hearted New Zealand war time did not preclude industrial unrest.

Parliament opened on the 28th of June, this time with a Governor-General's speech, for the well-earned compliment had been paid to the Dominion and to Lord Liverpool of raising the Governor to the status of Governor-General. It was a longer speech than the last, but in effect the war was its one theme. On this all-absorbing subject, on the attitude and feeling of the Mother Country, the British public, the British leaders, on New Zealand fighting men in France, on wounded New Zealanders in England, on the Imperial Conference and its issues, the two returned Statesmen spoke at length, giving to the House an account of their stewardship and their mission. As the opening speech was longer than in the previous year, so the output of laws was larger. There was less omnibus legislation, though one of the numerous War Legislation Amendment Acts came under that category. Loans were made the subject of separate Acts, so was registration of aliens, so was restriction of the sale of liquor, the temperance party, always peculiarly strong in New Zealand and fortified by the women's votes, procuring earlier closing hours. The War Pensions and Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Acts were once more amended, the amending Acts year by year in either case providing more liberal terms. For over and above the rightful claims of fighting men upon their country and their countrymen, public money is always freely voted in socialistic New Zealand, and married men with children, waiting to be called up under the Military Service Act, had special concern in the scale on which pensions and lands would be provided for them and their dependants.

But finance was the outstanding feature of the Session. On the 1st of August Ward brought in his third War Budget. When the financial year closed on the previous 31st of March, the Public Debt of New Zealand had risen from under £106,000,000 to £125,500,000. Up to the end of June 1917 the total war expenditure had amounted to £28,500,000: by the 1st of August the monthly cost of the war was approximately £1,900,000; and the Finance Minister stated that the Session of 1918 would find a war debt of £50,000,000. The

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accounts for 1916–17 showed a very large credit balance, which, including surpluses of former years, reached a total of nearly £6,500,000. Notwithstanding, in view of the great and rapidly growing cost of the war, in view also of somewhat less prosperous trade conditions—for latterly the value of exports had declined partly owing to want of shipping, while the value of imports had risen—the cautious Minister still added to the taxation. Some increases were made under Customs and Excise, a new amusements tax was imposed, and in lieu of the Excess Profits Duty, which was abandoned, the land and income-taxes were again revised and the income-taxes increased. The new rates for the ordinary income-tax were 6*d.* in the £ rising to 3*s.* : for the special war income-tax, 9*d.* in the £ rising to 4*s.* 6*d.* Thus the poorest income-tax payer contributed in all to the revenue through this tax 1*s.* 3*d.* in the £, and the richest 7*s.* 6*d.*, more than one-third of his income. The Imperial Government had by this time lent to New Zealand nearly £18,000,000, of which over £14,000,000 were directly for war expenses. Ward now asked for authority to borrow £24,000,000. He had the great merit as a war-time financier of not attempting to minimize the heavy sacrifices which might be necessary, and of making ample provision for all contingencies. Thus he took power in the Finance Act for compulsory subscription to the coming war purposes loan, should need arise for such a course in order to secure the money required. The authority to raise the loan was not, as in the previous year, included in the Finance Act, but was given by a separate War Purposes Loan Act. Twenty-four millions were asked for and sanctioned ; but in October it was found necessary to increase this amount, and a second War Purposes Loan Act authorized the borrowing of an additional four millions, making 28 millions in all. The need for this further sum was explained in a supplementary financial statement of the 9th of October. The long and short of somewhat puzzling figures was that the actual war expenditure up to date, or at any rate the actual bills presented, had proved to be larger than was anticipated two months previously : and though provision had been made to carry on not merely to the end of the financial year, but to the end of July 1918, when it was presumed that Parliament would be again in Session, Ward took power to secure another four millions of

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money. He told the House that, in accordance with his forecast, the revenue had fallen off in the first six months of the current financial year, imports from Great Britain having decreased, partly owing to the high rate of freight, partly because the producers and manufacturers of the goods which New Zealand wanted had in many cases been diverted to munition work: but he refrained from imposing further taxation. Before the second Loan Act was passed £12,700,000 were borrowed in New Zealand under the first Act without any resort to compulsion, and £5,000,000 were underwritten by the New Zealand banks. The balance of the £28,000,000 was left to be borrowed in 1918. It may be noted that one of the Financial Acts passed in this Session provided for the first time for the issue of New Zealand inscribed stock.

Parliament rose on the 1st of November. Then came the early months of 1918, tense with anxiety, when the climax of the long-drawn fight was reached. Again the Statesmen of the Dominions had been called to War Conference and War Cabinet in London, and upon the invitation there supervened the great German offensive of the 21st of March, its sweeping initial success, the menace to the very existence of the British Army in France, the call for a supreme effort by all the sons and citizens of the Empire. A short special Session was opened in New Zealand on the 9th of April: a week sufficed for the sittings: and on the 17th Parliament was prorogued, to meet again later in the year, after Massey and Ward had gone to England and come again. The special Session was held to obtain Parliamentary approval for their absence, and to provide for the necessary war expenditure during a prolonged recess. Its work was embodied in a Finance Act, not entirely confined to Finance, inasmuch as it once more prolonged the life of Parliament for a year up to December 1919. Ward brought in no detailed estimates: they were left for the later Session: but in moving the second reading of the Finance Bill, and in a subsequent statement of the approximate results of the financial year just ended, he placed the House in full possession of facts and figures. The year had closed with another handsome balance of some £4,250,000. He imposed no new taxes at the moment, and did not contemplate any necessity for additional taxation during 1918–19. What he was mainly concerned with in his Bill was to maintain existing taxes and

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to take powers for borrowing enough money to carry on to the end of the calendar year 1918. Authority to borrow an additional sum of £20,000,000 was asked for and granted in the law, together with authority to ensure that the needed money was actually subscribed : to this end the Act contained revised and more stringent provisions for compelling subscriptions to the loans. At the time a loan was on the market for £9,500,000, being the balance of the £28,000,000 sanctioned in the previous autumn : the public were to be asked for the further £20,000,000 later in the year. This last sum, when borrowed, would bring up the total war debt of New Zealand to £76,000,000, the war expenditure actually accounted for at the time of the Special Session being rather under £42,000,000. Ward did not pay off any of the War Debt, but utilized his accumulated surpluses for establishing a reserve fund, to be available at the end of the war : and, by investing these moneys in Imperial Government Securities in London, he in part requited the financial help which the Home Government had so readily given to New Zealand. Steadily and consistently, without hesitation or murmur, Government and public acted up to the standard of the last man and the last shilling, for Allen stated in the House that, in response to the call of the Home Government, the numbers of the monthly reinforcements for the New Zealand infantry at the front would be increased during the next five months, and that a new unit, a Tank Battalion, would be formed. It was in process of formation when the war came to an end. Another ministerial statement, made before the House adjourned, related to a standing trouble in New Zealand during the war, the shortage of wheat. It was aggravated by the want of shipping for the importation of supplies from Australia, and the Government took steps to stimulate wheat growing in the Dominion by guaranteeing a minimum price to the farmers.

Massey and Ward, the twin leaders of the National Government in New Zealand, were busy men in 1918. The Special Session ended on the 17th of April, and on the 12th of June they were present at the opening of the Imperial War Conference in London. The sittings of the War Conference and the War Cabinet lasted till the 26th of July ; turning home, the Ministers reached New Zealand again on the 12th of October, and the Legislature met on the 24th of that month.

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Most distant of the Dominions from the Mother Country, New Zealand might well have been forgiven if, at a time when sea passage was increasingly difficult and dangerous, she had not sent representatives to the Empire gatherings in London. But that was not the Dominion's way. Out and out partnership in the Empire was the New Zealanders' creed, and distance did not check the steady flow of men to fight for the Empire nor the journeyings of statesmen to join in its counsels. But itinerating leadership had its drawbacks. Parliamentary business was dictated by their movements, legislation was hurried, and Sessions curtailed. The inevitable result was, as shown by by-elections, that the coalition began to lose its hold upon the people. It was an extraordinary time. Speeding up was the order of the day. The curtain had risen upon the last act of the war before the New Zealanders left England. While they were hastening home, the German *débâcle* was proceeding apace, and by the time when the Parliament met at Wellington, it was evident that the end was near.

Under these circumstances the Session was hurried from the first, and was more rushed as the weeks went by and after the Armistice had been proclaimed. It was a constantly interrupted Session. The House adjourned to greet the surrender, first of one Power, then of another, and a very different cause, the prevailing influenza epidemic, produced the same effect. The Session only lasted till the 10th of December, and on a large number of the days the House did not sit at all. On the 7th of November the two Ministers gave an account of their mission to England, and Ward reiterated the view which, almost alone among leading Dominion Statesmen, he had consistently held and pressed, that an Empire Parliament should be constituted, but without taxing powers, so as in no way to interfere with control of the purse by the self-governing peoples of the Empire. Later in the month, on the 26th of November, the war being now at an end, he made a financial statement and brought in a belated budget for 1918–19, or rather supplemented and expanded the estimates which he had given to the House in April. The surplus of the current account for the year ended on the 31st March, 1918, which in April he had reported to be £4¼ millions, was now returned at over £5 millions, bringing the total accumulated balance up to £11½ millions. The revenue for 1917–18 had exceeded the

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revenue for the previous year by not far short of £2 millions, mainly contributed by income-tax, and the expenditure had grown by £1 million. Up to the 30th September 1918 the war expenditure of the Dominion, actually accounted for, had amounted to nearly £51½ millions, and the current war expenditure approximated to £1,800,000 a month. The budget for 1918–19 was the last war-year Budget, framed as though the war was not yet over; and in truth war conditions, in more or less modified form, were likely to prevail up to and after the coming 31st of March. As had been foreshadowed in the April Session, no new taxes were imposed, but, with the existing taxation, the Minister looked for a small surplus at the end of the financial year. As a matter of fact, when the accounts of the year had been finally made up, it was found that the revenue for 1918–19 had exceeded the receipts of the previous year by over £2 millions, and in spite of a much larger increase in expenditure, that there was a balance on the right side of nearly £3¾ millions. In the April Session Ward had taken power to borrow £20 millions for war expenses, £13 millions of which were still to be borrowed. He now applied to the House for authority to borrow an additional £10 millions on the same account, £2½ millions for public works, and £1 million for the settlement of discharged soldiers, and a Finance Act gave him the necessary powers. It provided for the issue of War Loan Certificates through the Post Office, and of Post Office War Loan inscribed stock, and contained, as before, provisions for compulsory subscription, with a penal tax on those who refused to subscribe when required to do so. Up to the 30th of September 1918, £39 millions had already been raised in New Zealand for war purposes, and there had been three loans since August 1916, issued at 4½ per cent. free of income-tax.

When the year 1918–19, the last financial year with fighting in it, ended, the accumulated surpluses amounted to £15¼ millions. They were so large because, as has been stated, none of the immediate war expenditure of New Zealand had been charged to current revenue; it was all paid for with borrowed money. What the war cost New Zealand is as difficult or impossible to say as it is in the case of other countries. In a financial statement of the 27th July 1920, the Prime Minister of New Zealand stated that on the 31st of March 1914 the

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gross public debt of the Dominion stood at just under £100 millions, making a gross indebtedness of £91 10*s.* 2*d.* per head of the European population, and that on the 31st of March 1920 the gross public debt stood at just over £201 millions, with a net public indebtedness of £165 3*s.* per head. Of the total increase in the debt of £101 millions, war debt accounted for £80 millions, the actual war expenditure being £77 millions. Of the £80 millions, £54 millions—roughly—had been borrowed in New Zealand, and £26 millions had been lent by the Imperial Government. But the £80 millions did not include a good many millions borrowed for and allotted to Discharged Soldiers' Settlement, on which, up to the 31st March 1920, over £9 millions had been spent, and the annual charge for soldiers' pensions was high, in 1920–1 not very far short of £2 millons. What was war expenditure and what was not is a matter of opinion. Probably it would be a safe guess to make that the war cost New Zealand round about £100 millions, exclusive of annual payments for interest and sinking funds on war loans.

Other war legislation of the Second Session of 1918 included an Expeditionary Forces Amendment Act, which brought the existing laws on the subject up to date, gave time for demobilization, provided bonuses for honourably discharged soldiers, regularized the military hospitals, and dealt with military defaulters. There was a War Legislation and Statute Law Amendment Act—an omnibus Act of the familiar kind, and a War Funds Amendment Act, which further regulated war charities and ensured co-operation on the part of the trustees of the various charities with the newly constituted repatriation Board. That Board came into existence under a repatriation Act which will be noticed presently.

Among laws which were not directly concerned with the war the two most important were a Legislative Council Amending Act and a Licensing Amendment Act. The Act of 1914, designed to make the Second Chamber an elected body, had been due to come into force in 1916, but its operation was postponed by subsequent legislation, in consequence of the war and the prolongation of the life of the Lower House. Provision was now made for giving effect to it as soon as practicable. The Licensing Amendment Act was the outcome of a recommendation by the National Efficiency Board. It

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provided for taking a referendum not later than the end of April 1919 on the question whether or not total prohibition of alcoholic liquors, coupled with reasonable compensation, should be the law of the land in the Dominion. A bare majority was to decide. The poll was taken on the 10th of April 1919, the resident vote in New Zealand gave a small majority in favour of prohibition, but the soldiers' vote was more potent on the other side, and in the result prohibition was negatived.

Such was the last war Session of New Zealand. With influenza raging in the country and not sparing the legislators themselves, with constant interruptions caused by the march of events, it was inevitable that public business should suffer. None the less, some solid work was done before the Houses closed their doors on the 10th of December, and, hurrying to the Peace Conference, Massey and Ward once more retraced their steps across the sea.

To the victory which had been achieved with so much suffering and strain and at such incalculable cost, the coloured citizens of the Empire had contributed as well as the white, and, conspicuous among native races as brave and generous fighters, it was altogether fitting that the Maoris of New Zealand should be represented in the forces of the Empire, and be credited to New Zealand's share in those forces. In accordance with Maori wishes, in September 1914, the Dominion Government offered to the War Office a Maori contingent of 500 men, and the offer was accepted. It had been intended to send half the number to Samoa and half to Egypt for garrison duty, but a division of the force was not liked by the Maoris, and in the middle of February 1915 the whole first draft was sent to Egypt. In July 1915 they were sent on to Gallipoli to join the New Zealand Expeditionary Force and see active service with them, and the first draft was followed by a second of some 300 men, who left New Zealand in September 1915. In January 1916, when the New Zealand Expeditionary Force was reorganized and formed into a division, the Maori troops were constituted a pioneer battalion. In all 30 Maori drafts crossed the sea, a total of 2,227 men. With the third draft, which left New Zealand on the 6th of February 1916, went 50 Rarotongans and 148 Niue Islanders, and in all 461 Rarotongans and Niue Islanders went to the war. A good judge,

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Mr. W. T. Massey,[1] rated the Rarotongans, men of 'fine physical strength and endurance', as the best of all the labourers who unloaded stores on the Mediterranean coast, *pari passu* with Allenby's advance, and some of them came into the actual fighting as loaders in the heavy howitzer batteries. When the Armistice came a number of Maoris and Rarotongans were in training, on a waiting list for overseas service.

Speaking on the 8th of November 1918 the Prime Minister of New Zealand claimed that up to date 'more has been done for the New Zealand soldiers than has been done by any other country in the Empire for its soldiers'. Possibly the claim to absolute pre-eminence might have been challenged, but that the Dominion was most mindful of its fighting men and their dependants is beyond all question. No country was more liberal in the scale of pay and pensions, or in the various forms of after care which were included under the general heading of repatriation.

In the earlier days of the war, when the first wounded New Zealanders reached hospital in England, ladies undertook to teach them fancy art and needle work, with so good effects on their mental and physical condition that work of this kind was adopted by the medical officers as part of the curative treatment. For limbless men a school was established at Oatlands Park, a branch of the No. 2 New Zealand General Hospital at Walton-on-Thames, classes were held in suitable subjects and produced excellent results, the spirit and morale of the men being improved and their whole outlook brightened. Equally satisfactory was the training given to those who had lost their sight at St. Dunstan's Home. Such experiences seemed to indicate that, if a general scheme of education were formulated and applied, more widespread benefits would follow, and late in the war, in April 1918, it was decided to introduce a comprehensive compulsory plan of education for all the New Zealand troops then in England, and to plant schools at the New Zealanders' hospitals and camps. The task was entrusted to Captain J. R. Kirk of the Wellington infantry regiment, who was specially qualified for the work by previous training

[1] *How Jerusalem was won*, by W. T. Massey, Constable & Co., 1919, p. 37. 'The best of all the fellows on this beach were the Rarotongans from the Cook Islands.'

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and study. The scope and object of the scheme was personally explained at the different centres ; a conference of educational experts from the New Zealand forces was held in London, at which a syllabus of training was drawn up, and within three months fully equipped schools, supplemented by good libraries, were actively at work at the various New Zealand hospitals and camps in England, almost all the instruction being given by teachers drawn from the New Zealand Army. A little later similar classes were begun at the New Zealand base camp in France, at Étaples, but the Armistice and demobilization followed so quickly that work in France was cut short before it could be matured. In England much was done in spite of the shortness of the time prior to the repatriation of the troops. The subjects taught were in the main such as were in demand among the soldiers and would fit them for their home life in the Dominion. They were of very wide range, including the various branches of industrial, agricultural, and commercial training, visits being arranged to experimental farms and large manufacturing works, law, French, advanced English, economics, psychology, history, and geography. Compulsory subjects were elementary English reading and writing for those not already sufficiently well grounded, elementary book-keeping, personal and social hygiene, and economics. Though only put into operation late in the day, this army education scheme did much to prepare the New Zealand soldiers for efficient work and good citizenship on their return to the Dominion, and was well worthy of the reputation of New Zealand for a high standard of education. It should be added that the Dominion Government spent over £31,000 in establishing a New Zealand Expeditionary Force Scholarship scheme, which provided 53 scholarships for terms varying from one to five years. The scheme has been well justified by results.

The Repatriation Act of 1918, which became law on the 10th of December in that year, was an outstanding measure of the Session, and gave rise to some discussion and criticism. The Armistice made repatriation an immediate and urgent problem, and legislation was required which would provide adequate machinery for the purpose. The new law did not in any way supersede the Soldiers' Settlement Acts which had been passed in previous Sessions, but it created a repatriation department, which took the place of an existing Discharged

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Soldiers' Information Department, and which was to be administered by a Board of Ministers of the Crown, four members of the Government being deputed for the purpose. Under the Board a director of repatriation was to be appointed as chief administrative officer, and provision was made for securing the help of district boards and local committees, all expenses being charged to the war expenses account. Repatriation was very widely interpreted, as including the education, training, and re-employment of the soldiers, their restoration to civil life, and with that end, loans for soldiers and also for soldiers' widows. Over eighty boards and committees were established throughout the Dominion under the Act, and the Progress Return of the Department up to the 20th March 1922 gave the following *Summary of Assistance Rendered :*

	Nature of Assistance.	*Number Assisted.*	*Amount.*
Loans.	Business	6,087	£1,125,713
	Furniture, tools, &c. . .	14,134	677,481
Grants.	Training Sustenance, &c. .	7,417	382,022
	Transportation. . .	3,012	7,204
	Unemployment Sustenance	1,118	5,536
Placed in employment . . .		26,854	—
	Total	58,622	£2,197,956

In the previous November, out of the total amount then advanced by way of loan, over £781,000, or 44 per cent., had been repaid. Meanwhile, under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Acts, supplemented by a Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Loans Act of 1920, up to the 31st of March 1921, £16¼ millions had been advanced to place 17,853 returned soldiers on rural holdings or to enable them to acquire town dwellings. Allowing for those who were killed or had died or were still in hospital, the report on Discharged Soldiers' Settlement for the year ended the 31st March 1921 estimated that, under the Repatriation and Soldiers' Settlement Acts, roughly speaking, 'about 43 per cent. of the Expeditionary Force have been assisted by the Government to establish themselves on the land or to start in business, or else are in the service of the State, whilst another 31 per cent. have been aided in a minor degree '.[1]

In July 1920 a statement was laid before the New Zealand House of Representatives showing the voluntary contributions

[1] Department of Lands and Survey, Discharged Soldiers' Settlement. Report for the year ended 31st March 1921, C-9, p. 2.

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in money and goods made by the Dominion from the outbreak of war to the 31st of March 1920. Including a Government subsidy to the Belgian Fund of £228,145, the total amount was £6,481,002, and a note was added that 'money and goods contributed by private individuals or institutions and forwarded direct are not ascertainable'—a note which is of universal application. If the Government subsidy to the Belgians is deducted, and the above figures are reduced to a round number of £6 millions, and if the average population of New Zealand during the war is taken at 1,150,000, including Maoris, the voluntary contributions work out at about £5 10*s.* a head, a very large percentage, eloquent of the patriotism and generosity of New Zealanders. Of this large sum of money nearly £5½ millions were collected by patriotic societies in the Dominion, the names of which fill page after page of the Parliamentary Paper.[1] The total approximate amounts contributed by New Zealand for relief purposes overseas were returned as follows up to the 31st March 1922:

Belgian Relief	£354,491	
Dominion Schools' Contribution to Belgian Children's Fund	18,364	
Government subsidy to Belgian Fund	228,145	
Other Belgian Funds	6,917	
		£607,917
For other Allies		43,951
British Red Cross		332,440
British Navy Relief		123,922
Relief in United Kingdom		22,301 *
New Zealand Comforts Fund		180,713
New Zealand Hospital Ships		67,555
New Zealand War Relief Fund		16,455
Equipment and Maintenance—Étrembières Hospital		14,000
Grants from New Zealand Sheep-owners' Fund		10,800
Save the Children Fund		58,505
Russian Famine Fund		2,324
Chinese Famine Fund		921
Remittance to various funds through Internal Affairs Department		69,318
Regimental Funds		13,345
Sundry Small Funds		9,886
Approximate total for Overseas Relief up to 31st March 1922		£1,574,353
Gift Goods		557,536
Grand Total		£2,131,889

* Includes £700 paid over to Chailey Homes for relief of Air-Raid-Shock Children.

[1] The Annual Report of the Department of Internal Affairs for the year ended 31st March 1920 and dated 30th September 1920, H–22, gives (p. 19) the report

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Belgian relief figures prominently in this schedule. The Dominion Government made a monthly grant for the purpose of £5,000, and an additional subsidy of £ for £ on voluntary subscriptions up to a maximum of another £5,000 per month, the total Government subsidy amounting to £228,145, as shown in the list. Over and above subscriptions in money in aid of Belgian distress, large supplies of food and clothing were also forthcoming from New Zealand for the same object. After the war New Zealand contributed substantially in aid of the Russian famine, and 'Relief in the United Kingdom' included contributions from the kindly and generous Dominion Government in aid of children suffering from shock of the air raids.

An object to which New Zealanders subscribed very generously, and which, on its merits, deserves special mention, was the Navy League Overseas Relief Fund. This fund was brought into existence by the Navy League in June 1916, after the battle of Jutland. It was raised 'for the benefit of the dependants of officers and men of the Royal Navy, Naval Auxiliary Forces, and Mercantile Marine who have laid down their lives or who have been disabled in the defence of the Empire during the present war'. The subscribers were from overseas, and a sum of £436,000 was subscribed up to the 31st December 1921 as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Australia	141,819	16	5
New Zealand	120,668	19	9
Canada	83,962	15	2
South Africa	38,053	6	10
China	16,100	14	2
Federated Malay States	5,889	12	9
South America	662	3	5
Miscellaneous	28,867	9	7
Total	£436,024	18	1

The purely relief work of the fund came to an end in July 1921, by which date £232,000 had been spent in relief grants,

of the War Funds Office dated 18th June 1920, with the following statement: 'The total funds raised by patriotic effort during the war, accounted for by this office, approximate £5,700,000, an average of about £4 18s. per capita; £1,488,803 of this amount was remitted for overseas funds. Gift foods shipped by the Internal Affairs Department for the comfort of New Zealand troops and for New Zealand hospitals abroad were valued at £557,536.' If the value of the goods—roughly 10s. a head—is added to £4 18s., much the same average is reached as in the text, and, moreover, all the gifts did not pass through the War Funds Office.

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more than 10,000 cases had been considered and often many times reconsidered, and in one instance or another help had been given in almost every practical form. On the other hand, a large proportion of the fund was placed in the hands of an Education Committee appointed by the Navy League, and was still being devoted to the excellent purpose of providing bursaries at schools and colleges for the children of killed or disabled officers and men of the naval services. It was thereby hoped to educate for the next few years at least 1,000 children at any one time. It will be noted that more than half of the total subscriptions came from Australia and New Zealand, and, relatively to population, New Zealand was by far the largest subscriber. This was in keeping with the never-failing support given by the Dominion to the Royal Navy.

The main agency in the United Kingdom for the benefit of New Zealand soldiers, other than the High Commissioner's Office, was the New Zealand War Contingent Association. It originated with a meeting in London at the Westminster Palace Hotel of some 300 New Zealanders and friends of New Zealand resident in London, which was convened on the 14th of August 1914, by the High Commissioner, Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Mackenzie. As a result of the meeting it was resolved to form an association

(1) To afford assistance and aid to members of the New Zealand contingents while in this country and abroad, and generally to look after their welfare.

(2) To provide and support Convalescent Homes in England for invalided members of the contingents.

(3) To provide needed comforts, where possible during war time, to members of these contingents and to those dependent upon them in the United Kingdom, and to make such preparations as are advisable in view of the hardships of a possible winter campaign.

The promoters of the Association took time by the forelock, for it was not until December 1914 that New Zealand troops reached Egypt; they were not fighting at the Dardanelles until April 1915, and only in 1916, after the evacuation of Gallipoli, were they brought to the Western Front. The reference to 'a possible winter campaign' reflects current views in England in August 1914 as to the probable duration of the war.

A general committee was constituted under the chairmanship of the High Commissioner. There was an Executive

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Committee, of which the late Lord Plunket, a former Governor of New Zealand, was chairman, succeeded in 1917 by Mr. I. W. Raymond, and Mr. Norman Dalston, afterwards succeeded by Mr. F. Waldegrave, was Hon. Secretary. There was also a Ladies Committee, with Lady Islington, wife of a former Governor, as chairman, and Miss Helen Mackenzie, daughter of the High Commissioner, as Hon. Secretary. Under the Executive Committee various other committees or sub-committees were soon formed. There was a Finance Committee, of which Sir James Mills was the first chairman, and Mr. E. M. Kennaway, Hon. Secretary, a Hospital Committee, of which Lord Plunket was chairman, and a Hospitality Committee, which worked through two sub-committees, the first a visiting sub-committee, of which Mr. I. W. Raymond was chairman, the second an Entertainment Sub-committee, presided over by the Countess of Hardwicke. Later in time was the New Zealand Expeditionary Force Clubs Committee. Of the Association as a whole Mr. Cecil J. Wray became Organizing Secretary, and Mr. E. M. Kennaway, Hon. Treasurer.

The War Office expressed a wish that the provision of convalescent homes for soldiers should be left to them. The generosity of Mr. C. A. Knight provided a small convalescent home for New Zealand officers, a house at Brighton being lent by him for the purpose, and the equipment and maintenance being almost wholly at his expense. Major Waldorf Astor, M.P., now Lord Astor, lent a house at Sandwich to be a rest home for New Zealand nurses, and a New Zealand lady, Mrs. Scott, provided a hostel for Maori soldiers at Acton. As far as this branch of their work was concerned, the Association concentrated their main efforts on the provision of a military hospital for New Zealanders. Through the good offices of Lady Islington they secured at Walton-on-Thames a fine house, very familiar as Mount Felix to frequenters of the Lower Thames, and here they established what Lord Plunket happily described as ' a little corner of New Zealand '. Beginning with about 100 beds, under Major Myers as Commandant and Miss Tombe as Matron, the accommodation was trebled early in 1916, and there was a subsidiary hospital at Oatlands Park. The staff chiefly consisted of New Zealanders, visitors from the Association were constant, the High Commissioner took a house close by, and the attractiveness of the surroundings, together

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with easy access from London, made the Walton hospital one of the best known of all the hospitals in England for overseas soldiers. In 1916, after the transfer to England of the New Zealand Head-quarters, the hospital passed into military charge, and the War Contingent Association ceased to be directly responsible for it. In all 27,000 New Zealanders passed through the Walton and Oatlands Park hospitals, seventeen of whom lie buried in the Walton Cemetery. There is a memorial in the old Parish Church, and on the 20th of November 1921 the present High Commissioner for New Zealand, Sir James Allen, unveiled a tablet, placed by the residents of Walton and the neighbourhood in the wall by Mount Felix, which bears the following inscription :

'This tablet is erected A. D. 1921 by the inhabitants of Walton-upon-Thames to commemorate their 27,000 fellow subjects from the Dominion of New Zealand who, wounded or disabled in the Great War 1914–1918, were cared for in the military hospitals at Mount Felix and Oatlands Park. Seventeen of these men lie buried in Walton Cemetery. "Their bodies are buried in peace but their name liveth for evermore."'

In a short address on behalf of the subscribers, Sir Godfrey Lagden referred to the tradition that on the spot on which they were standing, Julius Caesar, having forced the passage of the Thames where Walton bridge now spans the river, defeated the native Britons ; and, as it is proposed to call the projected new road from Walton village to Walton bridge New Zealand Avenue, the New Zealand connexion with Walton-on-Thames seems likely to be perpetuated to the far-off age when, lower down the river, Macaulay's well-known 'traveller from New Zealand shall take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge'.

Among other hospitals in England where New Zealand sick and wounded were especially to be found were Codford, Brockenhurst, and—for convalescents—Hornchurch ; but wherever New Zealand soldiers were harboured in the British Isles, they were followed up and cared for by the Association, of which there was a Scottish branch in Edinburgh, brought into being by Mrs. Young, who came from the New Zealand Edinburgh, Dunedin. The lady workers of the Visiting and Entertainment Sub-committees were indefatigable, and all their energies were required. Before 1915 ended, between

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4,000 and 5,000 New Zealanders had reached England from the Dardanelles, and when later the New Zealand troops were fighting in France and Flanders, the number to be cared for in British hospitals was very much larger. The head-quarters of the Association were in Victoria Street, Westminster, and at the end of 1914 Messrs. Harrods provided a work-room free of charge on their premises in the Brompton Road. Here, led by Mrs. Rose, the ladies of the Association made and sent out the sheets and clothing required for the Walton hospital, and converted wool sent from New Zealand into socks and mufflers for the men at the front.

There is not space to follow up the many activities of the Association, but, in order to appreciate at once the variety of its work and the efficiency with which the work was carried out, it must be borne in mind that, while the military effort of New Zealand was relatively to the population greater than that of any other Dominion, the numbers of New Zealand fighting men were, of necessity, smaller than those of the Canadian and Australian Expeditionary Forces. The work was therefore more compact and lent itself more readily to good organization. There were 3,000 New Zealanders resident in the United Kingdom when the war came, in addition to many Home Britons who had connexions with and good reasons for attachment to New Zealand, and competent, willing helpers, especially among the ladies, were forthcoming in adequate numbers. The Association was a Comforts Fund, but it was more also. For instance, at the beginning of the war a specially formed sub-committee of the Association handled large quantities of foodstuffs and clothing sent from New Zealand for the relief of British poor and Belgian refugees.

At the outbreak of the war no Red Cross Society existed in New Zealand, but it was soon recognized that New Zealand must come into line with other countries in this respect. An organization was thereupon set up, and from first to last its contributions in money and goods amounted to not far short of £1½ millions. At first money and goods were sent to the High Commissioner and the British Red Cross, but later on the War Contingent Association became the agent of the New Zealand Red Cross, drawing the main portion of its funds from the Red Cross.

In 1916 Mr. Charles Elgar became New Zealand Red Cross

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Commissioner in London. He formed a small committee to assist him, and that committee allocated to the War Contingent Association the funds necessary for its Red Cross operations. In 1917 Mr. I. W. Raymond became Chairman of the Red Cross Committee, and on the arrival in England in 1918 of Colonel the Hon. R. Heaton Rhodes (now Sir R. Heaton Rhodes, K.B.E.) as New Zealand Red Cross Commissioner, the work of the Red Cross and the War Contingent Association was separated, the Red Cross supplying the funds for those Red Cross functions, such as entertainment of wounded soldiers, which were by agreement left to the Association. In 1919 Mr. F. Waldegrave succeeded Colonel Rhodes as Red Cross Commissioner. In addition to the funds remitted to England for Red Cross purposes, the New Zealand Red Cross Society also forwarded to this country and to Egypt an enormous quantity of hospital supplies, clothing, foodstuffs, and hospital comforts, which were used for distribution among New Zealand sick and wounded, New Zealand and British hospitals, and kindred societies. Unfortunately, no complete record of the quantity and value of these supplies is available.

Throughout the term of its useful life the New Zealand War Contingent Association not only worked in close touch with the New Zealand Government, with the High Commissioner for New Zealand as its chairman, but it received substantial subsidies from New Zealand Government funds, especially for the Walton hospital. It was, in short, in a very real sense a representative body, and worthily it represented the Dominion. The first audited Statement of Accounts up to the 25th of October 1915 showed that the Association had received up to that date money contributions to an amount of over £19,000, of which between £7,000 and £8,000 had been subscribed in the British Isles, and between £11,000 and £12,000 had been sent from New Zealand. The printed Proceedings of the Final Meeting of the Association, held on the 9th of October 1919, do not include a financial summary of the total receipts and expenditure, but there was at the end a small balance on the right side, which was stated to belong to public funds, and was therefore handed back to the New Zealand Government.

Directly responsible to the New Zealand War Contingent Association, though not under the control of the Executive

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Committee of that Association, was the New Zealand Soldiers' Club in Bloomsbury. The Club occupied four houses, 17, 18, and 23 Russell Square, and 1 Upper Bedford Place. Three of them were rented, the fourth was lent free of charge by the late Sir Alexander Reudel, who had married the daughter of Captain Hobson, the first Governor of New Zealand. The club provided a hostel, canteen, recreation, and other club rooms and bath rooms, and 220 beds. It was opened on the 2nd of August 1916 and closed on the 3rd of June 1919, and during its life of two years and ten months, 223,000 men were provided with beds, and the daily average of meals was over 1,000. The first chairman was Mr. A. E. Russell, who, with Mrs. Russell, was mainly responsible for starting the club, and who, on his return to New Zealand in 1918, was succeeded by Mr. R. D. Douglas McLean, previously Hon. Treasurer. The indefatigable Hon. Secretary was Mr. R. H. Nolan, who received a well-earned knighthood in 1923, shortly before he died, and up to February 1919 Miss Burnett acted as Lady Superintendent of the canteen. Some 300 lady helpers gave voluntary service to the club. So well was it managed that, when it closed its doors, the Committee handed over to the New Zealand Government a sum of £7,635 in part repayment of subsidies received from that Government to a total amount of £12,150. To New Zealand soldiers on furlough in London the Club was a priceless benefit.

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SECTION II

THE NEW ZEALAND FORCES IN THE WAR

BY

MALCOLM ROSS

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CHAPTER I

THE VOYAGE. EGYPT AND GALLIPOLI

THE first stroke of New Zealand in the war was the bloodless capture of German Samoa in the South Pacific, important for its wireless station, on the 29th August 1914, by a small force of 1,410 men, under the command of Colonel R. Logan. It was the beginning of a splendid effort by the most remote of the Dominions, that was not for a single day relaxed, until, in conjunction with our Allies, the final victory was won.

On the 16th October the troops of the main Expeditionary Force sailed from Wellington, escorted by H.M.S. *Minotaur*, *Psyche*, *Philomel*, and the Japanese *Ibuki*. On that night their native land faded from sight, and for numbers of the brave adventurers it was a last farewell. At Albany in West Australia the New Zealanders met the greater Armada from the sister land of Australia, and the coo-ees from the soldiers of the two young nations were borne on the breeze across King George's Sound.

The New Zealand Expeditionary Force numbered 351 officers and 7,410 men. It comprised infantry, mounted rifles, artillery, and other services. The artillery had the latest pattern of eighteen pounders and the newest 4·5 howitzers, which afterwards proved invaluable at Gallipoli. Each of the four military districts of the Dominion, Auckland, Wellington, Canterbury, and Otago, provided one infantry battalion and one regiment of mounted rifles. The four infantry battalions, each about 1,000 strong, formed, with head-quarters, an infantry brigade. The Auckland, Wellington, and Canterbury Mounted Rifles regiments, each about 550 strong, formed, together with head-quarters, a field troop and a signal troop of engineers, and a mounted field ambulance, a New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade. The Otago Mounted Rifles were constituted a separate unit of divisional cavalry. The divisional artillery consisted of the First Field Artillery Brigade, including head-quarters, three field batteries, and an ammunition column,

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the total number of officers and men being rather over 600. The Force also contained a divisional signal service, divisional transport and supply and medical units, together with a few other details.

It was the flower of the manhood of a young nation, adventurous and high-spirited, that sailed in these first ships. It represented every walk of life, and it was answering a call that many could scarcely define. These men knew little of the mighty forces that were carrying them into the Armageddon. To most of them diplomacy was a mere word. They knew that from them help was due. Their main conviction was that their cause was a right one. Down below in the big mess-room of one of the ships two hundred and fifty men were scraping their tin plates and draining tin mugs, waited on by forty of their fellows. A bank teller and an auctioneer were serving the porridge. A student and a runholder ladled out the stew. At night the fleet in its four parallel lines, showing two lights to each ship, looked like a town of long straight streets. As darkness came on the extended lines drew in, and far away, ahead, astern, to port and starboard, the puffs of smoke grew larger as the convoy of warships closed in.

On the day of the New Zealand Cup little groups discussed the merits of the horses, and there was a babble of sporting talk and bets were made—to be paid at Aldershot or Salisbury Plain or wherever the force might assemble in England. The same sporting spirit was in evidence that set the 'Tommies' of the British Army on the battle-field of Mons discussing the prospects of the Cup Final, while the shrapnel was spraying up the dust on their trenches.

John Gilchrist, one of the New Zealand soldiers, died at sea, and the funeral took place in mid-ocean. Never before had these New Zealanders seen such an impressive burial. The whole fleet of transports hove to while the service was read and the body was committed to the sea. From across the water came the notes of the 'Last Post', and the flag on the *Ruapehu*'s stern pole was mast-headed again as the convoy resumed its long journey. Like many others who died at sea, and in the base camps in after-years, young Gilchrist had given his all for his country, but somehow, as one of his comrades bluntly put it, 'he didn't have much of a run for his money'.

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In the Red Sea a wireless message announced that the Force was to disembark in Egypt, news that caused some disappointment, for the men were anxious to get on to fight alongside of the British Armies on the battle-fields of France and Flanders. On the 3rd December Alexandria was reached, and soon the New Zealanders were speeding in troop trains to Cairo. In Egypt their camp was at Zeitoun, in the heart of a country through which, in ages past, Assyrian and Persian, Saracen and Turk, had swept with fire and sword. Close at hand the obelisk rose above the dust of On, where Plato had studied. Among the crumbling bricks of its ruined walls, these new crusaders, from remote islands that only a century ago were still in the stone age, grubbed for beads and scarabs fashioned in the days of the old dynasties. All through the night the troop trains came in, and the men bivouacked on the sands, feeling the cold after their long tropic voyage. From the East Lancashire Territorial Division came food with 'dixies' of hot tea, and this kindness remains as a pleasant memory of the first meeting of the New Zealanders in the Great War with their comrades from the Motherland.

Cairo was not the best place for the neighbourhood of a modern military camp, and trouble arose through the temptations of the city. Eventually there was a serious riot in the Ezbekieh quarter of the town. Some property was destroyed and two or three houses of ill fame were burnt. When the Egyptian Fire Brigade tried to put the fire out, the soldiers from overseas cut the hoses, and there was a collision with the military police who attempted to quell the disturbance. But, after all, very few of the troops, and fewer still of the New Zealanders, were concerned in the matter.

For the New Zealanders, as for the Australians, a period of hard intensive training now set in. It had been decided to form these soldiers from the South into an Army Corps, and, as the New Zealand force was still incomplete in some details, it was used as the nucleus of a division, the Infantry Brigade and the Brigade of Mounted Rifles being linked up with a Brigade of Australian Light Horse and with the fourth Australian Brigade, which reached Egypt somewhat later than the others. Steps were taken to strengthen the artillery and engineers and to supply a divisional train. Meantime, another little band of New Zealanders had arrived from England.

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These were men who had been engaged in commerce and the professions in the Motherland, in the outposts of Empire and in foreign countries. With the first alarm of war they had gathered in London—there were 6 officers and 234 other ranks —volunteered their services, and now joined up with their comrades from the Dominion. Other New Zealanders in England, keen to get quickly into the fight, had already joined British regiments.

Lieut.-Gen. Sir William Riddell Birdwood had been appointed to the command of the Australian and New Zealand Corps, and Major-Gen. Sir A. J. Godley was given command of the Australian and New Zealand Division. Both were keen soldiers. Each had seen active service, and each knew the value of hard training and strict discipline. It was largely owing to their efforts in this direction that the force that landed at Anzac was so fit, and eventually overcame the difficulties of an almost insuperable task. General Godley had been in command in New Zealand from the initiation of the Kitchener Defence Scheme until he sailed with the Expeditionary Force, and was therefore fully conversant with the capabilities of the officers and men under him. His staff included several British officers who had been attached to the New Zealand forces for instructional purposes, but the regimental officers were almost exclusively New Zealanders, who, as the war progressed, proved themselves capable and gallant soldiers, and won high honours.

On the 25th January 1915 news came that the Turk was advancing to attack the Suez Canal, and, in high spirits, the New Zealand infantry battalions, with the Field Ambulance, were detailed to assist in the defensive operations. The Mounted Rifles were left behind, and surely never in the whole war was there such a disappointed brigade. The Auckland and Canterbury battalions were detrained at Ismailia and allotted to the northern section of the Canal; the Wellington and Otago battalions were posted along the southern section between the Bitter Lakes and Suez. Under cover of darkness, on the morning of the 3rd February, after a wonderful desert march, the Turk, led by German officers, launched his attack, and was at once routed. Only two platoons of the New Zealanders, mostly Nelson men of the Canterbury Battalion, who were entrenched at Serapeum, were in the fight, though

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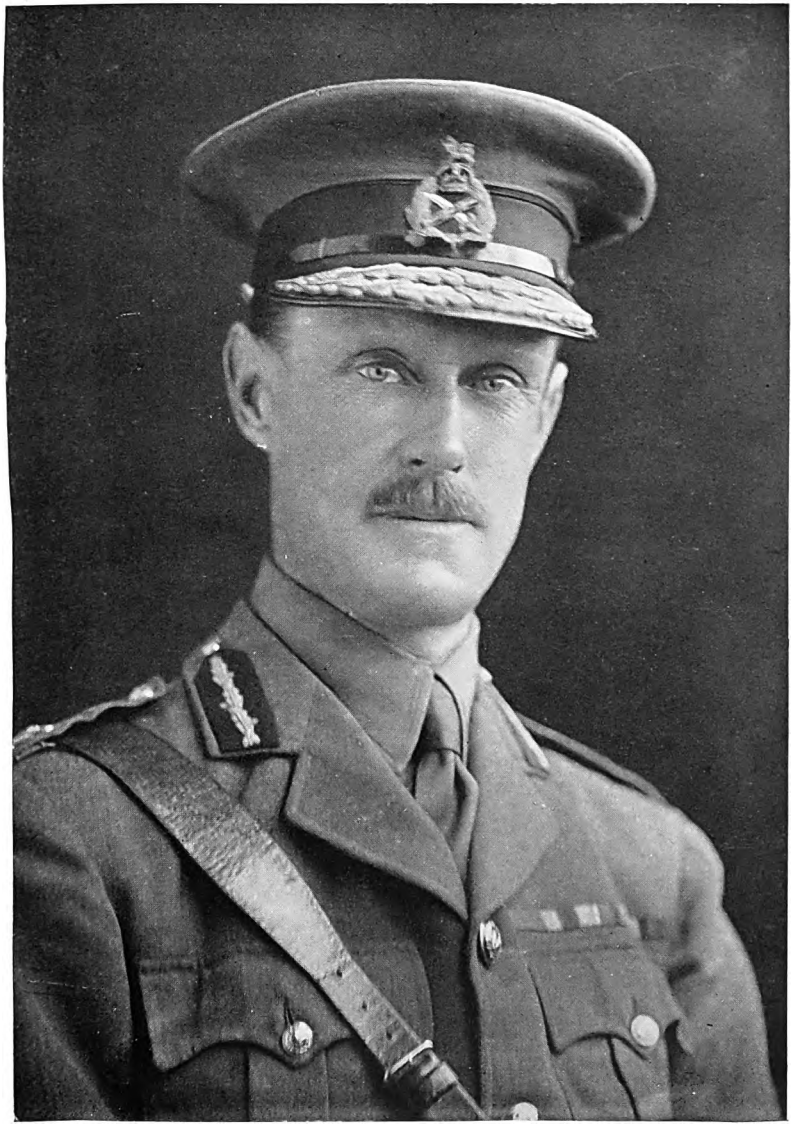

GENERAL GODLEY

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others of the Canterbury Battalion, at El Ferdan, were under the fire of some Turkish guns. Two of the New Zealanders were wounded, and one private, William Arthur Ham, of Nelson, died of his wounds. He was the first of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force to fall in the war. On the 26th February the New Zealanders were back in their camp at Zeitoun. Meantime, reinforcements, including 439 Maoris, had arrived, and all except the Maoris were drafted into different units.

Soon it became known that the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps were destined for an important mission, and there came a memorable day (the 29th March 1915) when Sir Ian Hamilton, who was to command the Dardanelles Expedition, inspected the Anzacs. All who saw the march past agreed that General Birdwood had a magnificent fighting force under his command. On the 10th April the New Zealanders once more boarded the troopers at Alexandria, all but the Mounted Rifles, who were to remain behind in Egypt, and the Maoris, who were to embark for garrison duty at Malta. Both were very disappointed, and the fighting strength of the division was reduced from four brigades to two, because the Australian Light Horse also had to be left behind.

The Force had a shrewd suspicion that it was bound for some large operation in the Gallipoli Peninsula, and when it arrived at Mudros and saw all the ships of the Great Armada gathered there, expectation was confirmed. Landing practice with heavy loads, weighing about 80 lb., now occupied much of the time, while the thought of war was brought home by the lectures of medical officers who spoke of first aid to the wounded, and strongly insisted that if a man happened to be wounded in the stomach he was to throw away his water bottle or empty it promptly, so that there should be no temptation to drink. Bad weather delayed the start of the Expedition for the Peninsula, but by Saturday, the 24th April, the wind had died down and the sea had calmed. On the following morning early the ships sailed. It was a memorable scene, described in Masefield's *Gallipoli* in lines of undying prose. The Australian and New Zealand Force was in some forty transports. There had been little enough time for all the necessary preparations. The water problem was a serious one, and the responsibility for providing it was thrown upon the Navy, which used barges

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for the purpose. The first of these was a barge that had been used for years by Maltese coal-heavers, and which became known to the troops as the floating latrine. However, it saved the situation.

The orders were to land the right-hand boat five hundred yards north of Gaba Tepe, and the left-hand boat just south of the point afterwards known as Hell Spit. It has been stated that Birdwood intended to land at Gaba Tepe, but that was not the case. He never intended to land there because he knew of the thick wire right under it. He intended to land as shown on the map facing p. 82, thinking that, as the country there was not very steep, he might make good his footing on the main ridge before daylight. Farther to the north the troops would be more likely to lose themselves in the darkness. But the tows on leaving the battleship did not go due east, probably owing to a current that had not been allowed for, and the troops were landed a mile and a half farther north than was intended. As it turned out this was a lucky mischance, because, under the frowning heights of Anzac, the landing parties enjoyed an immunity from shell-fire that they could not have hoped for on the more open beaches nearer Gaba Tepe, where, moreover, the Turks appear to have made preparations against a landing.

In a misty dawn, undisturbed by any sight or sound of battle, the boats neared the shore. The silence was almost uncanny. Then a single shot rang out, followed by others, and quickly the firing became general. The 3rd Australian Brigade, under Colonel Maclagan, had been detailed as a covering party to the rest of the force, and, at 4.30 a.m., were the first to land. Those who came after were intended either to pass through the Brigade and continue the advance or to prolong the line on either flank. In the excitement and enthusiasm of the first success the troops pressed on quickly, as ordered, and to some extent lost cohesion, so that it became impossible to hold all the ground which had been gained in the initial rush. Thus, when the time came for the New Zealand Infantry to land, the problem had already become one not of further advance but of holding up Turkish counter-attacks, and to them fell the task of supporting the covering force on the left. Three hundred yards from the narrow beach the picket boats bearing the New Zealanders cut loose the tows, which were

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rowed to the shallow water; the men tumbled over the sides, often up to their armpits in the sea; laden with their equipment, two hundred rounds of ammunition, three days' rations, and little bundles of chopped sticks for firewood, they struggled ashore, and were at once rushed to the firing line, where Maclagan's splendid brigade of Australians was already at deadly grips with the enmy. By 9 a.m. the first infantry battalion, the Auckland battalion, was all ashore. Two companies of the Canterbury Battalion and the Divisional Signal Company followed. The objective given to the Auckland Battalion was a ridge running from south-east to north-west about half a mile north-east of Ari Burnu, and subsequently known as Walker's Ridge.[1] At 12.30 the first company of the Aucklanders, with some Canterbury men, reached the crest of the ridge, but early in the afternoon the Aucklanders were moved to the right to connect more closely with the left of the 3rd Australian Brigade, while two companies of the Canterburys held Walker's Ridge and prolonged the line on the left of the Aucklanders. By 4 p.m. the Otago Battalion had arrived and was directed to Walker's Ridge. At 5 p.m. the remaining two companies of the Canterbury Battalion had been landed and were ordered to reinforce the Aucklanders. At 5.30 the Otago Battalion was, as the Aucklanders had been, called back from the left flank and moved to the right to the ridge above the Australian wireless station on Plugge's Plateau, and the Canterburys were left to hold on to the all important Walker's Ridge, the loss of which would have enabled the Turks to enfilade the whole position.

At 6 p.m. the Brigade-Major arrived, and at 8.30 one company of the Wellington Regiment under Colonel Malone landed. Meantime, the fighting had been continuous, and some of the ground gained by Maclagan's Brigade had been lost. The troops, considerably outnumbered and handicapped by the absence of artillery, had difficulty in holding on. The only guns ashore were those of the Indian Mountain Battery, which, splendidly handled as they were throughout the whole

[1] Lieut.-Col. F. E. Johnston, in command of the New Zealand Brigade, had developed measles shortly before the landing, and General Birdwood had put Brig.-Gen. Walker in command. The ridge was called by the latter's name. Captain Conningham of the General Staff acted as Brigade-Major to General Walker pending the arrival of Major Temperley.

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of the campaign, did effective work in helping to keep the enemy at bay, but the Turks held the high ground and commanded all our positions. Colonel McBean Stewart of the Canterbury Battalion, a brave soldier who had set a magnificent example in fearlessly leading his men to the assault, was killed on Russell's Top. Major Loach took command, and some days later was himself badly wounded. Colonel Plugge of the Auckland Battalion, who gave his name to Plugge's Plateau, was slightly wounded. In the afternoon General Birdwood went with Walker up to and around Plugge's Plateau, but owing to the dense scrub it was almost impossible to make out from that point what the position was as regards Shrapnel Valley. Walker was pessimistic about the situation, and thought he was 'in the air', with the Turks all around him and between him and the Australians. The Turkish snipers, hidden in the scrub, were taking a heavy toll of our men. The rattle of rifle fire was continuous, and at intervals came bursts of shrapnel that, as was to be expected, somewhat scared troops wholly new to warfare. After a while, when seasoned, these same men took little notice of the Turkish shrapnel, and bathed with the bullets splashing in the sea all round them. Now men who had become separated from their units began to dribble back to the beach, but only to return later to the firing line. Over the whole of this terribly broken country there was much unavoidable confusion of units.

Digging in was trying work. On the evening of the first day rain began to fall, and the troops were very cold and miserable. They had no overcoats and no packs because they could not get back to the beach where they had left them, and they could not light fires because of the proximity of the Turkish snipers. But they searched about for dead men's packs and some of them managed to get overcoats. Then they mixed themselves meat extract in cold water, and with this ate a few biscuits. By this time they had knowledge of their heavy casualties. Every man who came in brought news of some friend killed or wounded. The Canterburys and the 2nd Australian Battalion started to dig in before dusk on a sharp razor-backed ridge leading to what was afterwards named Russell's Top. The Turks were just above them and quite close. If

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the enemy had come on that night he could have walked right through the small force, for he might have advanced unseen through the scrub, and the New Zealanders could have expected no artillery support from the ships in the dark. They were a mere handful of men, but they filled the gap and helped to save the Force from being outflanked or cut in two. There were few reserves, and what there were were absorbed as soon as they came ashore. The men dug all night and had no time for sleep. The Turkish shells were coming over at frequent intervals. Just before daylight the destroyer that had been keeping vigilant watch for the New Zealanders on the left, turned her searchlight right on to them, revealing the position to the enemy and drawing a burst of rapid rifle fire, which, however, did little damage.

All that night the position was very uncertain, for the enemy still held commanding ground, the casualties were very severe throughout the whole force, and Australians and New Zealanders were mixed with one another, and fought shoulder to shoulder in little isolated bands under any officer who happened to be with them. This was inevitable because the nature of the country prevented the keeping of close touch in the first terrible climb through the scrub up steep slopes sprayed with the bullets from machine guns and rifles and with the shrapnel of the Turkish field artillery. But though they lost direction individually never for one instant did their courage fail. Straight for the hill they went, and were soon in the firing line, ready to hold the position already won, or die. Some were killed, many more were wounded, some straggled back after ' having had enough of it ' for the time being, but always, outnumbered though they were, there were enough New Zealanders and Australians in the unprotected firing line to keep the Turk at bay.

In spite of all the heroism, however, the situation on that night was critical, and there were whispers of re-embarkation. At about 11 p.m. there was a discussion as to the position, General Bridges, General Godley, Brig.-Gen. Walker, General Birdwood, and one or two others being present, and General Sir Ian Hamilton in his *Gallipoli Diary* makes brief reference to the result. Just after midnight he was awakened on H.M.S. *Queen Elizabeth* by Braithwaite, his Chief of Staff, and went to the dining saloon, where Carruthers, D.A. and Q.M.G.

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of the Corps at Anzac, gave him the following message from General Birdwood written in Godley's handwriting :

'Both my Divisional General and Brigadiers have represented to me that they fear their men are thoroughly demoralized by shrapnel fire to which they have been subjected all day after exhaustion and gallant work in morning. Numbers have dribbled back from firing line and cannot be collected in this difficult country. Even New Zealand Brigade which has been only recently engaged lost heavily and is to some extent demoralized. If troops are subjected to shell fire again to-morrow morning, there is likely to be a fiasco, as I have no fresh troops with which to replace those in the firing line. I know my representation is most serious, but if we are to re-embark it must be at once.'

(Signed) BIRDWOOD.

Rear-Admiral Thursby, who was in charge of the Anzac landing, when asked for his opinion, said it would take the best part of three days to get that crowd off the beaches, and added that he thought the troops would stick it out if only it were put to them that they must.

Sir Ian showed decision and sound judgement. He was at his best. Without another word he wrote the following message to Birdwood :

'Your news is indeed serious. But there is nothing for it but to dig yourselves in and stick it out. It would take at least two days to re-embark you, as Admiral Thursby will explain to you. Meanwhile, the Australian submarine has got up through the Narrows and has torpedoed a gunboat at Chunuk. Hunter-Weston, despite his heavy losses, will be advancing to-morrow, which should divert pressure from you. Make a personal appeal to your men and Godley's to make a supreme effort to hold their ground.

(Signed) IAN HAMILTON.

P.S.—You have got through the difficult business, now you have only to dig, dig, dig, until you are safe.

IAN H.

Birdwood, though he had sent without comment the message to which this was a reply, had been himself against the proposed re-embarkation. He says that Godley and Bridges assured him that their men were so pressed and so fatigued that they were dribbling back in large numbers through the dense bush to the shore. They had consulted their brigadiers and agreed with them that, in the event of the almost certain

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heavy attacks by the Turks next morning, a complete *débâcle* would take place, for, as they knew, no fresh troops were available to reinforce them. They therefore urged that arrangements should be made immediately with the Admiral for the re-embarkation. This Birdwood refused to do, but he thought it desirable to let Hamilton know the position in case he wished to concentrate his forces at Helles or Anzac. As a matter of fact many of the stragglers were men unused to the discipline or to the realities of war, and were taking matters somewhat casually. When they were rushed back to the trenches to give stability to a new unit that had just relieved them, they were prepared and determined to resist any onslaught on the part of the Turks, and they stood their ground. But it is reasonably plain, from all the facts, that the deciding factor in regard to the proposal for evacuation was that the Navy could not do it in the time. Under the circumstances it would have been an operation almost impossible of successful accomplishment.

The scene on the beach next morning was one that almost beggared description. It was inevitable, under such circumstances, that there should be confusion. The problem of the large numbers of wounded added to the difficulties. The number of casualties in modern battle had been altogether under-estimated, and the provision made for their treatment and evacuation was wholly inadequate. The wounded that were being brought down from the hills had a bad time. Some were wounded again, and the stretcher bearers, whose grim determination and splendid bravery will be talked of so long as there is an Anzac soldier alive, had many casualties in their ranks. Fortunately, owing to the intervening hills, the Turkish gunners had to burst their shrapnel too high to get the beach effectively. The beach became absolutely packed with wounded, and any man who wanted to walk that way had to go right to the water's edge. From the water back to the hill there were lines of stretchers almost touching one another. They lay from Hell Spit, which was under shrapnel fire, to the second wireless station where General Godley had his head-quarters. They were taken as soon as possible to a little tent dressing-station in the scrub below Walker's Ridge. Thence they were conveyed to the beach and taken on 'tows' out to the hospital ships, and when these were full, to troop ships on which were neither doctors nor orderlies.

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The boats came for them to a little pier, hastily made from stones and wood and bits of the broken boats that had come to grief in the landing. Sometimes, in these tows, in a choppy sea, even the badly wounded, besides getting wet, were rolled off the stretchers. Yet they did not complain, and the British sailors were as kind and gentle with them as women. One of the troopships used in those first days was the captured Norddeutcher-Lloyd Company's *Derflinger*. Such of the wounded as could walk were sent up the gangway. Those who could not had their stretchers lifted into an iron cradle suspended at the end of a derrick. The winch-man knew nothing about these steam winches, for, as often as not, he took the wounded up in jerks, and landed them on the deck with a bump. That was the worst experience. The ship was crowded with wounded. They were in every corner, some standing, others sitting, and the very bad cases lying down. By this time the want of attention and the trying ordeal they were going through were beginning to tell, and among these brave men, who at first had borne their wounds without a murmur, and even with smiles, there was now a good deal of groaning and crying. It was strange for them to see their recent companions in the landing back on this troopship, laid out in long rows on deck. Many were still on stretchers. But even at this time several were covered with the grey blanket that told their living comrades they had died since coming aboard. One of the New Zealand wounded, whose description can be relied upon, relates his experiences as follows :

'We had scarcely any hospital orderlies and only two doctors. I was put down on the deck. The saloon had been converted into an operating room. They were operating there on waterproof sheets spread over the cabin tables. The surgeons had to work continuously. One with a pointed beard was evidently a naval surgeon lent for the occasion. On the deck I was lying next to a man who had been put into a strait jacket. He was wounded in the head and kept trying to tear off his bandages. All about me were very badly wounded men with their first field dressings still on, and some of the wounds still bleeding rather badly. One man, an officer, went mad, and had to be locked up in a cabin. All sorts of sounds and yells and groans came from all over the ship, and men were asking those next to them to kill them. It was like a mad-ship. The principal food on board was bully beef stew, which was made in a big cauldron in the fo'c'sle head. There was also bread and jam,

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cheese and biscuit. The orderlies and the crew kept finding wounded stowed away all over the ship. Some who had got up on to the boat deck were not found until we got to Alexandria. It was of course impossible for the two doctors to attend to all, but they worked, like the splendid fellows they were, night and day. Up on the boat deck near the funnel was a line of bodies sewn up in their blankets. A bit of paper was pinned to each one.

'Before we left for Alex. we lay off Anzac for some time listening to the rifle fire and the fire of the guns. It nearly drove some of us mad. One or two shells came pretty near us, as we were lying close in. Just as we were on the point of leaving, a big ship—I think it was the *Minewaska*—came down on us and bumped us so badly that men were knocked off their feet. At this all the badly wounded who could do so sat up and shrieked again. At last we got away, but we had a rotten Dago crew on board who loafed all the time and had no desire to work. There were, however, some good officers who worked their very hardest. The ship was going full speed for "Alex." when suddenly in the night time she stopped. Every one who was not already awake or unconscious woke up and there was great uneasiness. Many, who by this time had very ragged nerves, were badly scared. Listening, we heard a splash in the water. The overstrained wounded sat up and yelled again. They thought they were being shelled. Then there was another splash, and another, and another. They were burying those who had died in the night. I lay counting. In all I counted twenty-seven splashes.

'Terrible as the condition of things was the situation was not without its grim humour. Amongst the wounded was a pal of mine, badly hit in the right arm. He had managed to walk down to the beach, and on the transport was treated by a doctor who tried to cheer him up. The doctor said he would not lose his arm. But the young New Zealander knew better, and coolly told the doctor that if he didn't know the arm had to come off he was not fit for his job. This young soldier was sent up on deck with some other wounded, and went off into a faint. At two in the afternoon it was decided to amputate. They had some difficulty in getting him under the anaesthetic. Four hours later he recovered consciousness only to find they had covered him over with a sheet! He was amongst a row of wounded lying along the deck. He pushed the sheet away, raised himself on his elbow and asked an Australian next to him for a cigarette. The Australian stared at him in blank astonishment. "Great Scott!" he said, "you have no business to be alive. They counted you out an hour ago!" The New Zealander put the cigarette in his mouth, got some one to light it for him, and went off for a stroll along the deck, smoking. There he encountered the doctor, who swore and pitched the

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cigarette overboard. His patient had no right to be smoking just after coming out of an anaesthetic! In a few days that young soldier was walking about Cairo with the stitches out of his arm. He was still a cheery soul, humorously lamenting the fact that he had now to keep his money all in one pocket! There were many plucky fellows like him. It was only the terrible strain of having their wounds unattended to that caused the others to groan and ask to be put out of their misery. Before very long they were struggling to get back once more into the firing line on Gallipoli. Many went back a second and a third time.'

Troops and guns were landed, units were sorted out, and the Australian and New Zealand Division were concentrated on the left of the line, from the head of Monash Gully round to the sea. By the end of April or the beginning of May the position at Anzac, though an incurably bad one, had been made tolerably secure. This was accomplished only by untiring effort on the part of the troops and splendid organization for which Colonel C. B. B. White, then Chief of Staff to General Bridges, was largely responsible. At least the Turkish Force was now being safely held, and, with adequate reinforcements and the necessary supplies of artillery and ammunition, a general advance that would have smashed this section of the Turkish Army might still have been possible. But these requisites were not forthcoming. Throughout Sir Ian Hamilton's *Gallipoli Diary* there runs a repeated note of sadness in regard to the want of reinforcements, the lack of guns, and the scarcity of shells, and by this time it was evident to even the most casual military observer that the preparations had been upon an altogether inadequate scale. Especially was this so in view of the fact of the initial failure of the Navy, which had given the enemy full warning of the possibilities, and had thus enabled him to strengthen both his forces and his positions in anticipation of further attack.

As a matter of fact, a general advance was at this time planned but, owing to objections raised by leading Australian officers who showed that it was unlikely to succeed, it was not insisted on. Had there been adequate reinforcements, it would undoubtedly have been undertaken. On the 2nd May, a week after the landing, an attack on a smaller scale was launched to improve the position at the head of Monash Valley, which was a weak spot in the Anzac defence system. The

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New Zealanders, with the 4th Australian Brigade on their right, were ordered to advance with a view to capturing the head of Shrapnel Gully and the plateau, including Baby 700. The New Zealand Infantry Brigade was guarding Russell's Top with its right directed on the knoll. The 4th Australian Brigade was to advance and make a line connecting Baby 700 with the left flank of Quinn's in co-operation with the New Zealanders, and the attack was timed for 7.15 a.m., by which time the Otago Battalion under Lieut.-Col. Moore was to be in Monash Gully ready to advance. The Canterbury Battalion was to be in support of the Otagos, with the Auckland men in reserve, and the Wellington Battalion holding the trenches. There was a preliminary bombardment from the ships and the field guns. But the Otago Battalion, delayed by snipers at the head of Monash Gully, and by stretcher parties moving down, did not reach their concentration point till 7.45, and so did not charge till an hour later. Thus the two attacks, which should have been simultaneous, had an interval of an hour and a half between them. The further advance of the Otago Battalion was made in the face of a withering fire from the enemy machine guns and rifles on the knoll, and there were many casualties in their ranks. Their advance was stopped about 300 yards from its objective. The men lay down where they were, opened fire, and began to dig. Digging in along the line gained they met with further losses. Two battalions of the Royal Marine Light Infantry ordered up in support were also late in arriving, and as the telephone wire had been cut by the enemy's fire, no définite news of the position could be obtained at head-quarters. The Canterbury men were ordered up, but only one company got through. At 12.15 a.m. next day Colonel Moore was able to telephone to General Monash that he was unable to take the Turkish trenches, but had occupied a good fire position within a hundred yards of them, and was in touch with the Australians on his right. When the Canterburys arrived he proposed to take the trenches at the point of the bayonet. The Otagos had been ordered to dig in, but the enemy brought up machine guns, by means of which he was able to enfilade the position, and the majority of the Otagos, after further losses, had to evacuate the position gained. Shell-fire from the Turkish guns had damaged the trenches they had dug and had added to their casualties. One small

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band of Otago men under Major Moir, however, still hung on to the position they had won, and the 13th Battalion of the Australians also remained desperately clinging on to their position. This little force dug hard throughout the day. The Turks too were digging and fighting desperately. The contending forces were so close that, from a distance, it was almost impossible to say which trenches were ours and which were the Turks'. An attempt to restore the position by the advance of the Marines failed, because, by this time, it was broad daylight, and the ridge was swept by enemy machine-gun fire. Part of the Australian 13th Battalion held on gallantly throughout the day, and withdrew under cover of the night. The brave little band of Otago men, under withering fire, clung desperately to the position it had gained, and was almost given up for lost. For two days it held the Turk at bay, and then, under its gallant leader, came out when ordered. The casualties in the New Zealand and Australian Division were 9 officers killed, 33 wounded, and 2 missing. Of the other ranks 161 were reported killed, 430 wounded, and 200 missing. Of the missing nearly all were killed or wounded.

The outcome of this stubborn fighting was to carry conviction that, without far more artillery support than had been forthcoming, a frontal attack on the Turkish trenches at Anzac was almost doomed to failure. To move men and to collect them for an assault was under existing conditions a task of the utmost difficulty, the approaches to the enemy lines were restricted in the extreme, and the Turkish machine guns could command them all. There was more promise of success from a general advance from Cape Helles, if backed by adequate artillery fire, and in order to co-operate in such an advance, on Wednesday, the 5th of May, the New Zealand Infantry Brigade, now reduced to 89 officers and 2,689 other ranks, was sent there as part of a composite division in which were also Australian and British troops. The brigade was now under the command of Colonel F. E. Johnston. The plan was to take Krithia at the point of the bayonet and to occupy the slopes of Achi Baba ; but the High Command had underestimated both the tenacity of the Turk and the strength of his position. Coming from the cramped area under the frowning heights of scrub-covered Anzac, the New Zealanders and the Australians could not fail to be struck with the open spaces of the country

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fronting Achi Baba. Here were fields bedecked with poppies and daisies, and dotted with clumps of trees. The ground sloped gradually to the top of Achi Baba, an insignificant hill. But this hill, small as it appeared to the men from mountainous New Zealand, dominated the position, and, with the Turkish lines running to the sea on either hand, the German officers rightly boasted that it would never be taken by a frontal attack.

The New Zealanders landed at the little harbour where the *River Clyde* lay stranded. They then marched across the foot of the Peninsula to Gully Beach, and waited at the Farm on the edge of the Saghir Dere, a long narrow gully that ran inland in the direction of Krithia. This was the left flank of the position.

The battle began on the morning of the 6th May. On the 8th the New Zealanders moved up in support of the famous 29th Division, suffering many casualties from machine-gun fire. There was a heavy bombardment of the Turkish position from our field artillery and the French 'seventy-fives', while bursts of flame and clouds of smoke and dust arose from the explosions of the heavy shells from the guns of the warships. At 10.30 a.m. on the 8th the New Zealanders were ordered to go through the British lines and take the enemy trenches on their left front covering battered Krithia. The Wellington Battalion, under Lieut.-Col. W. G. Malone, was on the extreme left. Next came the Aucklanders in command of Lieut.-Col. Plugge, and then the Canterbury men in command of Major Loach, who had taken the place of Colonel McBean Stewart, killed at Anzac. The Otago Battalion, in command of Lieut.-Col. T. W. McDonald, was in reserve. The New Zealanders, in broad daylight, moved to the attack in face of a terrible fire. As they passed through the British trenches they were cheered by the 'Tommies', some few of whom, carried away by their enthusiasm, joined in the charge. The continuous thunder of artillery, and the rattle of the machine guns and rifle fire, like the beating of thousands of kettle drums, made a deafening noise. Bravely the New Zealanders, tired as they were after their long march and almost sleepless nights, charged across the open. Officers and men at once began to fall, many of them never to rise again. It was evident that such a charge in broad daylight was unlikely to achieve success without

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overwhelming artillery support, such as two years later, when the experimental stage of the war had been passed, the Division was to receive at Messines. Yet before midday the remnants of some few platoons of Canterbury and Auckland men had made a slight advance. The Turkish machine guns, from cleverly concealed positions, played in leaden streams under which the advancing ranks began to melt away. In the open was what was later known as the 'Daisy Patch', a spot that to the New Zealanders became memorable, for its flowers were crimson with the blood of many of their bravest and best. It was only a small bit of level ground, a hundred yards across, but it gave no shelter, and the hail of Turkish machine-gun and rifle bullets soon dotted the sward with dead and wounded. A little later the Otagos were ordered up in an endeavour to make good the fearful losses, but all to no purpose. The advance was definitely held up, and eventually there was nothing for the men to do but dig in to save the little ground won at such bloody sacrifice.

In the morning some Canterburys had gained 250 yards, a few of the Aucklanders about the same distance, other of their companies having fallen back owing to a deadly fire that came from machine guns concealed in a copse a little way ahead. The Wellington Battalion had advanced about 300 yards, but were under heavy fire from a Turkish trench on their left front. The two companies of the Otago Battalion that were sent to help Auckland also lost heavily. Here the New Zealanders hung on under fire. Wounded lay out in the open, hit again and again. Many gallant deeds were done, and once more the stretcher-bearers covered themselves with honour, while many a soldier risked his life in dashing or crawling forward under fire to rescue a fallen comrade.

Sir Ian Hamilton, in his *Gallipoli Diary*, says: 'The flower of New Zealand advanced in open order to the attack. After the most desperate hand to hand fighting, often by sections or sometimes by groups of half a dozen men, we gained slowly, very slowly, perhaps a couple of hundred yards.' Some of the British troops near by were astounded that the New Zealanders should attempt to charge across the 'Daisy Patch'. But they did charge, with courage that could scarce be excelled in battle. A young wounded officer of the 29th Division told Sir Ian 'it was worth ten years of tennis to see the Australians and New

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Zealanders go in '. It was all to little purpose. The battalions were shattered as they charged.

But it was decided to make one more attempt. At 4 p.m. Sir Ian Hamilton issued orders that the whole line, reinforced by the Australians, should, on the stroke of 5.30, fix bayonets and storm Krithia and Achi Baba. At 5.15 the bombardment was renewed, and a quarter of an hour later the whole Allied line made one more attempt at further progress. The remaining companies of the Otago Battalion were ordered up in support of Wellington's right and Auckland's left, while a draft of the recently arrived reinforcements was moved up into reserve. But again it was an unavailing sacrifice. Turkish artillery, and machine guns and rifles, from strong positions, wrought havoc in the ranks. And then night spread her pall over the bloody field. French, English, Indian, Australian, and New Zealand troops had failed, and the attack was at an end. Twenty-six out of the 29 officers in the Auckland Battalion were killed or wounded. The Canterbury men had gone forward some 400 yards, but the Aucklanders had to fall back practically to their original line. Wellington had gained ground, but their advance was held up by deadly machine guns that could not be silenced, so well placed were they by the Turkish officers. All that night some of our wounded who lay out on the battle-field had a terrible time. Thirst and the pain of wounds overshadowed the bravery they had displayed. Gradually such as survived the night were got in by comrades and by the stretcher-bearers. The Turks attacked again and yet again, but they were gallantly held. On the night of the 11th the New Zealanders were relieved. They had lost in killed and wounded some 770 officers and men. Those who survived were somewhat cheered by the Commander-in-Chief's message :

' May I, speaking with a full heart, be permitted to say how gloriously the Australians and New Zealanders have upheld the best traditions of our race during this struggle still in progress ; at first with audacity and dash, since then with sleepless valour and untiring resource. They have already earned for their countries an imperishable record of military virtue.'

Sir Ian's words were well chosen and his praise well earned. On the 19th May the New Zealanders re-embarked under cover of darkness, and by dawn next morning they were back at Anzac.

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While the New Zealanders were at Cape Helles the Anzac lines were considerably strengthened, and shelters that had been constructed made the beach more secure. Periscopes were being made, the mirrors from the ships' cabins being cut up for this purpose. A bomb factory had been established. There was a great dearth of hand grenades, but the ingenuity of the Anzacs resulted in the manufacture of passable hand grenades from jam tins, powder, bits of metal, empty cartridge cases, and bits of ordinary fuse. The fuses had to be lit with ordinary matches, so that it was a matter of sound judgement as to the right moment when to throw these home-made bombs. If they were thrown too soon they were apt to be flung back by the enemy and to explode in our own trenches, whereas if the original thrower delayed a second too long the grenade was likely to explode in his own hand, or, at least, in our own trenches. The Turks were feverishly digging and sapping opposite our position, but always our engineers and sappers were more than a match for them.

On the 12th May the 1st Australian Light Horse Brigade, under Lieut.-Col. Chauvel, landed and joined the Australian and New Zealand Division. It was followed by the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade, under General Russell, 1,500 strong. These brigades, of course, were dismounted. They were at this time among the best of the troops from the Antipodes, and needless to say, they received a hearty welcome from their comrades who had been bearing the heat and burden of the day. General Russell was given command of No. 4 Section—the northernmost section of the defences of Anzac, and at once he began to show those qualities of ability, energy, bravery, and initiative that were the distinguishing features of his career throughout all the strenuous years of the war.

During the early part of May the enemy had been making preparations for his boasted attack that was to drive the Anzacs into the sea. New guns had been brought into positions from which he could effectively shell the beach. They were of different calibres, including 11 in., 8 in., and 6 in. It was thought that some of the bigger shells came from the guns of one of the German warships stationed in the Straits near Akbashi. An 8 in. gun fired on Monash Valley and Courtney's. The beach was shelled night and morning. Turkish transports

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had been reported in the Dardanelles, and a hostile concentration was apparently taking place. Mounted troops and guns were seen moving north-east of Krithia towards the coast in a westerly direction. Officers commanding sections were warned to be on the alert. About midnight on the night of 18th–19th May the moon went down, and it was very dark. Bombs were thrown at Quinn's, and heavy bursts of rifle and machine-gun fire came from the enemy trenches. After 15 minutes the firing slackened, and then became intermittent till 4 a.m., when it burst out afresh. Shortly afterwards the Turkish attack began to develop. It was a general attack, the main effort directed against the centre—Courtney's, Steele's, and Maclaurin's. Both Pope's and Courtney's were being heavily shelled, and the enemy also began to shell Plugge's Plateau, the seaward slopes of Anzac, and the beach. Just before dawn the enemy moved forward. Shadowy forms were seen creeping through the scrub, and our machine guns got to work. Major Sykes' battery on Plugge's Plateau did splendid shooting at almost point-blank range, repelling the attack on Quinn's, and the New Zealand howitzers lent their aid. The Turks were being mown down in swathes. Along the whole line the bullets whistled. Advancing with the aid of tapes to keep them in position, the determined Turks came on shouting 'Allah! Allah! Allah!', and surged forward in thousands against the Australians and the New Zealand Mounted Rifles. The Aucklanders, with their rifles and their machine guns, poured streams of bullets into the enemy's ranks, and the shouts of 'Allah!' were answered by the Maori war cry that the New Zealanders had adopted—'Ake, Ake, Kia Kaha!'—'We will fight for ever and ever!' Some of the enemy got caught up by the barbed wire in front of our trenches and were literally riddled with bullets. In hundreds they dropped in the tangled wire and the prickly ilex scrub. On the right the Australians were pouring in a similar hail of bullets, some of the men boldly sitting on the parapets and furiously working the bolts of their rifles as they shot down the advancing Turks, regardless of the fact that they were thereby exposing themselves to death and wounds. The enemy tried to creep down the gullies on the left flank, but were met with volleys that laid them low or sent them flying for safety along the scrub-covered slopes. The attack was checked, and

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scarcely a Turk got as far as the New Zealand trenches. As the sun rose a whole battalion of the enemy was seen sheltering in trenches and hollows ahead of our lines waiting for an opportunity to advance, but the rifles of the 10th (Nelson) Squadron of the New Zealand Mounted Rifles and a Canterbury machine gun raked the position with a leaden hail, killing, wounding, and putting to flight. The guns of the ships and our field batteries, one of which fired all but six hundred shells, completed the rout. By 11 a.m. the great attack had spent itself, and by 2 p.m. Turkish gun fire had almost ceased. The Anzacs still held their positions. They had not been driven into the sea! The pity of it was that there were not reserves to follow up success by counter-attack. Even while the fight was in progress our battered brigades were on their way back from Helles. The New Zealanders landed at Anzac on the morning of the 20th, to learn that their comrades 'the dismounteds' had taken a full toll for the losses on the 'Daisy Patch'. How great were the enemy casualties was not known until the burial parties went out among the swathes of the Turkish dead during the armistice of the 24th May.

The closing days of May are memorable in connexion with the capture and holding for a brief time of a Turkish stronghold by men from the New Zealand Mounted Rifles. The incident is well worthy to be recorded at some length as illustrating the character of the fighting at Gallipoli. The post in question, well placed for sniping our men, was on the crest of a low ridge between the Sazli Beit and Chailak gullies, about five hundred yards due East of our farthest outpost on the left flank. The position was taken by surprise at the point of the bayonet by a party of Canterbury Mounted Rifles, who were, on the following night, relieved by three troops of the Wellington Mounted Rifles, 93 all told, mostly from the Wairarapa district, under command of Major Chambers. That same night the Turks in force made a most determined attempt to regain the post. The heroic defence of the position, practically surrounded as the Mounteds were by a large body of the enemy, for a little more than a day, during which they lost 52 killed and wounded, is one of the most stirring incidents in the fighting on the Peninsula. Going up in the dark these men found themselves eventually in a short and very shallow trench. They had to crouch for safety. Any one who stood up for a few seconds was

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almost certain to be shot. The earth excavated from the trench had been thrown upon the downward slope leading to a cliff that fell away almost sheer. The Turks, taking advantage of the cover of the gullies and the ilex scrub, crept all round the position except for a little space on the seaward side. They came so close to the trench that with their bayonets fixed they scraped the earth from the low parapet to fire into the trench. Before the night was far advanced there were about a thousand of them around that little band of ninety. Without exposing themselves to the enemy fire, our men could not stand up in their shallow trench to fire at the Turks, who occupied a much safer position. All they could do, while keeping their heads down, was hurriedly to raise their rifles in one hand and fire blindly into the Turks. Though they could not see the result of their fire they felt sure that in this way they had killed and wounded several. When daylight came our men began to fall quickly from rifle and machine-gun fire aimed from the higher commanding positions held by the enemy. Many were shot through the head. The most dangerous rifle fire was coming from a height on the right front. One man fell shot through the neck and never moved. Another collapsed, shot through the head. His comrades held the body up with a view to pushing it over the parapet so as to make a little more room for the living, when, to their amazemeut, they found the man was not dead. Indeed he began to struggle violently, and for fully an hour his companions, under heavy fire, had to hold him down, both for his and their own safety. The man was paralysed on one side, but on the other side he seemed to have the strength of two men. His spasmodic struggles were overcome with difficulty, and eventually he was got away with the other wounded, but his case was hopeless from the first. The Turks stripped the clothes from three of our dead and pushed the bodies back in front of the trench. The Wairarapa men had not been in the trench five minutes before the telephone wire, which had been dragged up through the scrub, had been cut, but the signallers kept up communication—with flags by day and with lamps at night. There was only one spot from which they could signal, but they showed great heroism and an absolute contempt for danger. The flags were riddled with bullets and the lamps were shot to bits. Several times the Turks sneaked up through the scrub with

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a view to rushing the trench, but they failed to come right on. Had they done so they could easily have overwhelmed this little band of New Zealanders, but every Turk knew that the first men who went over would be killed for a certainty. As one of the Mounteds said afterwards you could not very well miss your man with either rifle or revolver at a range of about four yards. And in addition there was always the bayonet, a weapon that these strong men could use with some effect, and one that the Turk had no particular liking to encounter. Two out of the three officers in one little bit of trench were killed. The third, Major Chambers, a splendid officer, was afterwards killed on Table Top. Down below in the gully the medical officer was working heroically with the wounded. As the brave garrison crouched in their trench throughout the long night, waiting for the final attack, they listened to yells and cries of 'Allah' from the enemy surrounding them, and had to face death and wounds from the Turkish hand grenades while they themselves, as so often happened in those early days, had none to throw. The moment it was known that this band was in danger heroic efforts were made to send them aid. The Taranaki Mounteds, commanded by Major Elmslie, went out, and under heavy fire got within a few yards of the crest, where they took up a defensive position and remained during the whole of the next day. Other men came up at daylight, and one troop got within a few yards of the post, but owing to the noise of the rifle fire and bombs, could not attract the attention of the garrison. Both the relieving squadrons were now under heavy machine-gun fire from the Turkish trenches in front of the Nek, and very little movement was possible during the remainder of the daylight. Chambers sent an urgent request for help, and Lieut.-Col. Meldrum, commanding the Wellington Mounted Rifles, was ordered to send forward two supporting squadrons. They found it impossible to advance in face of the heavy fire directed at them. In the meantime part of the parapet was broken by a shell from a Turkish battery on the 'W' Hills, and some of the Turks actually got into the trench, but were driven out. As the Wellington Squadron was unable to effect a junction with the garrison, the Nelson Squadron of the Canterburys, under Major Hutton, was sent to the relief of the brave garrison with instructions to cover its retirement after abandoning the

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post. Having come up the scrub-covered hill in the dark he gradually worked his way with some of his men into the trench and took over, remaining just long enough to enable the gallant 9th W.M.R. to get away with its wounded, but not its dead, under cover of darkness. In a few minutes the Turks found that the post had been abandoned, and shouting and yelling, they pursued the decimated retreating band till a burst of rapid fire checked their advance. Some of the enemy actually overtook our men, but a few of the latter charged successfully with fixed bayonets. About 2 a.m. a squadron from the Auckland Regiment was sent to assist in the withdrawal, and at last all got back to a safe position. Those of the garrison who came back were very much exhausted as they had been under a hot fire for many hours, and the total casualties in the fighting were 91, a heavy price to pay for fruitless gallantry.

As the weeks wore on it became evident that no further advance of any importance could be made without a great accession of strength to the Allied forces on the Peninsula. The enemy also was in sore straits, and both sides settled down to a period of trench warfare—sniping, digging, and mining. In all three phases of trench warfare the New Zealanders more than held their own. The sappers and miners especially did magnificent work. Occasionally there would be a sortie to capture some little bit of Turkish trench. As a rule these sorties were of no benefit to us, and sometimes they resulted in heavy casualties. Offset against this were the casualties in the enemy ranks, and a few prisoners captured. On the 9th June Lieut.-Col. Malone of the Wellington Regiment took over the command of Quinn's Post. He was a gallant soldier and a great believer in the domestic virtues being an ever present aid in war. Accordingly, he set about making the place more habitable and safer. There had always been a great deal of trouble with Quinn's, and General Birdwood stated afterwards that it had never been put into a good state until Malone went there.

The supply of gun ammunition was low, and some of it was defective. During the shelling of Turkish trenches opposite Russell's Top on the 14th July it was noted that, in spite of careful laying, the range varied 100 yards from shot to shot, and on weighing the shells it was found that they differed in

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weight as much as 17 ounces. This made shooting at enemy trenches so close to our own uncertain and dangerous.

On the 3rd July an event of special interest occurred. The Maori contingent—16 officers and 461 other ranks—under Major Herbert, arrived from Malta. They were attached to the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade, and at once began to dig themselves bivouacs at the foot of the steep fantastic slopes that rose behind No. 2 Picket. Two, who thought they had chosen a good spot, were startled by digging up a dead Turk, a ghastly reminder of the fighting that took place there at the landing. From the air overhead came the screech of shells on their way to the Anzac beaches. General Godley arrived, and the swarthy warriors stopped their digging to listen to his very fitting speech of welcome. In a few brief sentences he told them of the deeds of their white comrades, already accomplished at Anzac. 'And now, upon you Maoris,' he added, 'a great responsibility rests. Not only have you to prove yourselves worthy to fight with your British comrades who have done such noble deeds, but you have to prove yourselves also worthy descendants of your brave ancestors and of the glorious military traditions of your race.' The General expressed his confidence in their ability to do this, and in conclusion said that he was proud to have them under his command. The Maoris responded with one of their old war songs. It was indeed a strange scene in a strange setting. Listening to the rhythmic thud of Maori feet upon this soil, and, for the first time in history, the stirring 'Kamate! Kamate!' chorus echoing from the scarred cliffs of Gallipoli, one thought of the Armadas that had sailed these seas, of the armies that had traversed these lands. The great dead—Xerxes and Alexander, Hector and Helen, Achilles and Lysander—seemed to live again. Across the ilex-clad hills was the narrow strait where the Persian general, two thousand years ago, had built his bridge of boats, so that an army might cross from one continent to another. In these same seas the Greek Fleet lay, with infinite patience, for nine long years in support of the force ashore. Now the ships of our own Armada, daring new perils, came and went in sight of the Trojan Plain; and Chanak, on the ruins of ancient Abydos, was aflame from their bursting shells.' Westward the long headland of Imbros sloped to the line of sea and sky, and in the north-west Samo-

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thrace rose, rugged and steep, against a background of splendid rolling cloud, while, in between, the wine-coloured sea of Homer gleamed in the sunlight. And in the midst of it all stood the tall New Zealand general, like some Trojan leader, inciting his Maori warriors from the farthest of our far-flung Dominions to play a part worthy of the new Iliad.

In the limited space available it is not possible to describe the various incidents and operations of the days that passed prior to the great attack on Sari Bair and the Suvla landing. The strain upon men who could get no rest from bombs, machine guns, rifles, and batteries of field-guns; who had to live so largely on tinned food, not always of the best; and who now began to suffer from disease spread by millions of flies bred in the corpses of our own and the enemy dead lying out in No Man's Land, was beginning to tell, but nevertheless, it was borne with heroic fortitude. Every one was tired of the unvaried food, and cried aloud for canteens that never came till, near the end of it all, one solitary ship arrived. Its contents vanished as a patch of grass in a desert might have disappeared before a vast flight of locusts. There was a shortage even of castor oil, invaluable in arresting the scourge of dysentery that had set in. The Army was drinking it by the barrelful, and, had not the supplies run out, there seemed every probability that it might have become the national drink of the Australians and New Zealanders!

It was in circumstances such as these that preparations were being made for a new and an ambitious attack, which, in connexion with the Suvla landing, was meant to give us a dominance of the Peninsula from the heights of Sari Bair.

By Sunday, the 6th August, final preparations had been completed for the great assault on Sari Bair. It was to be carried out simultaneously with the new landing at Suvla, the object being to secure a position astride the Peninsula from the neighbourhood of Gaba Tepe to the Straits north of Maidos. With the main attack on the high ridge north of Anzac the New Zealanders were concerned. The New Zealand General had at his disposal the following troops:

New Zealand and Australian Division.
13th Division, less Divisional Artillery (not yet landed).
29th (Indian) Infantry Brigade.
Indian Mountain Artillery Brigade, less one section.

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Three battalions of the 13th Division were in Corps reserve, but were subsequently sent up to join the 13th Division.

The plan was for two covering forces, right and left, to clear the lower slopes of the hills with the bayonet in a surprise night attack, after which the Assaulting Columns would proceed to attack the main position. The Right Covering Force, under the command of Brig.-Gen. A. H. Russell, consisted of New Zealand Mounted Rifles, the Maoris, and a Field Troop of New Zealand Engineers. At nine o'clock at night they stole quietly away from the flank outposts in light marching order with bayonets fixed. They had white bands on their sleeves and a square patch on their backs, so that if they got mixed up in a fight in the darkness they would not bayonet one another. At that hour the Destroyer *Colne*, the guardian angel of our flank, stood close in and flashed her searchlight on Old No. 3 Post,[1] which she promptly proceeded to bombard for half an hour. Meantime, the Auckland Mounted Riflemen had crept close up to the Turkish stronghold, which was protected by strong overhead timber and sand-bag cover. They were ready to spring. Suddenly the bombardment ceased, the searchlight was switched off. This was the signal for attack, and the Aucklanders boldly dashed into the position and bayoneted the garrison. Other Turks who came up from the reserve trench met a like fate. The position was quickly and cheaply won. Meantime, the Otago and Canterbury Mounted regiments had disappeared into the night across the little flat to the north of No. 3 Outpost, and, swinging round to the east, they proceeded to attack the Turks on Bauchop's Hill, a low scrub-covered ridge to the north of the Chailak Dere, connecting with Little Table Top farther inland. In the lower part of the valley they came up against a barbed wire entanglement, which, under fire, was with some difficulty cut through by the Engineers, several of whom were hit. The Canterbury men in their early advance suffered casualties from a machine gun well placed on the end of the ridge near the mouth of the Aghyl Dere. Here Lieutenant Davidson was killed in leading a gallant bayonet charge that put the gun out of action. Old No. 3 Post had fallen just before 11 o'clock, but Bauchop's Hill was a bigger area to clear, and the fighting there continued till after one o'clock in the morning. Here the

[1] This was the scene of the fighting described above on pp. 289–92.

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gallant commander of the Otago Mounted Rifles, Lieut.-Col. Bauchop, C.M.G., a veteran of the South African War, and beloved by his men, fell mortally wounded with a bullet through his spine.

The 4·5 in., 5 in., and 6 in. howitzers and the ships' guns had been bombarding Big Table Top, beyond Bauchop's Hill on the south of the Chailak Dere till 10 p.m., after which the Wellington Mounted Rifles advanced to attack the position. On their way they had already dealt with Destroyer Hill. In the darkness they had come suddenly upon Turks whose rifle fire was indicated by spurts of flame in the dense scrub. A bullet found Major Dick, who fell wounded as he began to lead a charge. Hot fighting with bayonet on the one side and bullet on the other followed. All this country was difficult ground on which to attack. The enemy was entrenched in a series of rough scrub-covered hills intersected by deep water-worn ravines that ran from the long, steep, curving ridge of Chunuk Bair, 850 feet high, to the narrow flats that fronted the sea. Through this wild country with splendid *élan*, bayoneting right and left, our men charged the Turks. As night wore on a continuous crackle of rifle fire combined with the thunder of the guns. On the lower slopes we could see the spurts of rifle fire, while every now and then, as some gallant attack was pressed home, the cheers of our squadrons and the wild war cries of the Ngapuhi and other famous Maori tribes resounded from the hills and dales of Sari Bair. After Destroyer Hill had been taken by Dick's squadron the two others under Meldrum pressed on to Table Top. They came up against an almost impassable precipice of gravel, so steep that steps had to be cut in it. Yet zigzagging they climbed it, and came out at last on Table Top. This was found practically empty, its garrison having gone down the valley in the direction of other fighting. Wellington garrisoned the Top and found a road leading down into the Chailak Dere. Along this path the Turks came at intervals, a few at a time. They simply walked into Wellington's picket and were captured. Before dawn larger parties began to come, retiring before the Otago Infantry, and were made prisoners. Shortly afterwards up came the leading companies of Otago under the gallant Statham. Before dawn the positions sought had been won, and the way was open for the assaulting columns.

To the right assaulting column, under Brig.-Gen. F. E.

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Johnston, was entrusted the attack on Chunuk Bair. It was composed of the New Zealand Infantry Brigade, the Indian Mountain Battery, less one section, and the 1st Field Company of New Zealand Engineers. The Canterbury Battalion went up the Sazli Beit Dere, the Otago, Wellington, and Auckland battalions by way of the Chailak Dere. The advance began at 12.30 a.m. on the 7th August. The Canterbury men, led by Lieut.-Col. Hughes, were behind time owing to the difficult nature of the country and to the guide being uncertain as to the route. From this period operations were considerably delayed, and the rear troops generally were much behind time. The delay was attributed to the time taken by the Right Covering Force—longer than had been anticipated—in clearing the Chailak and Aghyl Deres ; to the slow progress, at first, of the Left Covering Force, which did not gain a secure footing on Damak Jelik Bair till after midnight ; and to the fact that the guide of the left assaulting columns (a Greek) took a narrow way which he knew over the saddle between Taylor's Knob and Walden Point instead of round the latter feature. About an hour and a half before dawn Colonel Hughes was informed by his guides that they did not know where they were. A message was got through to Divisional Head-quarters stating the position, and the battalion was ordered to occupy the hills where it was. They were abreast of Destroyer Ridge an hour before dawn, but had no idea that it was already occupied. Hearing voices the Colonel called out, and an officer and half a dozen men came down and gave them their direction. By this time Colonel Meldrum, with some of the Wellington Mounteds, was holding Table Top. The Otago Infantry also lost direction, and getting on to Table Top, imagined they had captured it. Shortly afterwards, when the two Colonels met, there was a brief argument as to who was actually in possession. Just below Table Top the Infantry had run into 200 Turks whom the Mounteds had not found. These Turks surrendered at once. The whole story goes to illustrate the very difficult nature of a night attack in wild and unknown country, and if New Zealand troops, used to finding their way in difficult areas, made mistakes, there was surely excuse for the new troops that had just arrived from England, with a minimum of the necessary physical and military training requisite for such a bold adventure. Meanwhile, part of the Otago Battalion led by Major Frank Statham, had pushed on

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past Table Top, and a little after dawn reached the lower slopes of Chunuk Bair, the ridge subsequently known as Rhododendron Spur. Here the Canterbury Battalion came up and began to dig in. A determined effort was made to cross a small depression later known as the Apex, which separated Rhododendron Spur from Chunuk Bair, but by this time the Turks had been strongly reinforced, and the troops exhausted by their night march with all its difficulties were unable to gain more ground. As far as Rhododendron Spur the losses had been few, but a movement on the part of some of the Otago Battalion attracted the attention of the Turkish observers, and the Turkish field artillery began to rain shrapnel on the Canterbury men, nearly three hundred of whom, including nine out of eleven officers, became casualties. Three out of the four runners were hit, and a message ordering the battalion on to the Apex never reached the Colonel. A later message got through and he advanced to the Apex, but was not wanted, and returned to hold the Spur. Just before 11 a.m. the Aucklands and some of the 10th Gurkhas who had strayed thither made a desperate effort to reach Chunuk Bair. Platoon after platoon was wiped out by fire from the heights. They gained a Turkish trench at the Pinnacle and stayed there till the end of the battle, Major Grant being mortally wounded.

At about 11 a.m. the forward movement of the Force had ceased. Units and formations were much mixed up, and losses had been heavy. The troops were very tired. The fighting through the steep and intricate scrub-covered declivities against an enemy dominating the position had put a great strain upon both officers and men. Brig.-Gen. Johnston, commanding the New Zealand Infantry Brigade, however, wished to make another effort at 6 p.m., but did not do so in view of a divisional order for a renewal of the attack on the following day. Nor had better success attended the left assaulting column, the Indian and 4th Australian Brigades, under command of Brig.-Gen. Cox. Meeting with strenuous opposition in very difficult country, it made slow progress. Under the circumstances General Godley very wisely decided to halt on the positions gained, and wait till early morning before attempting to gain a footing on the main Sari Bair Ridge. The fighting had been very severe throughout the day, and the Turks had shown little disposition to retire from the low ground between the ridge and the sea. Moreover, though the IXth

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Corps had successfully carried out its landing at Suvla, its advance had been greatly delayed, and it was not until late in the afternoon that some of its battalions had carried the ridge known as Chocolate and Green Hills less than half-way to Kuchuk Anafarta.

Orders were issued for a further assault in three columns on Sari Bair, to commence at 4.15 a.m. on Sunday the 8th August. The New Zealanders were engaged on the right, General Johnston's Column being headed by the Wellington Infantry Battalion, and supported by the 7th Gloucestershire Regiment, the Auckland Mounted Rifles, the 8th Welsh (Pioneers), and the Maori Contingent. The centre and left assaulting columns were under command of Brig.-Gen. Cox, and included the 4th Australian Brigade and British and Indian troops. These troops met with fierce rifle and machine-gun fire, and gained little ground. The Australians were almost surrounded, and withdrew to their previous line on the Asma Dere. The enemy had brought up fresh reserves from the south of the Peninsula, and continued to fight with great bravery and determination.

As dawn was breaking, the Wellington Regiment under Lieut.-Col. Malone, after preliminary bombardment, advanced to gain the crest of the ridge ahead, and add another page of heroism to New Zealand history. Through the stunted scrub the already tired and parched officers and men climbed, at first cautiously, and then with a dash that only their splendid physique and courage could sustain. For some time no shot was fired at them, the Turks having retired through some mistake or in panic, and they pushed on, till, with a cheer, they gained the crest of the ridge a little to the right of the highest point. Below were the Dardanelles ; beyond, the sombre hills of Asia. Inspired by their success the officers grasped hands delightedly. We could see Malone's brave men, gallantly led, marching along the sky line. Four machine guns were pushed up to assist him in holding the position, but their crews met with a withering fire, and practically all of them fell, dead or wounded. From the remnants of the four damaged guns one gun was reconstructed, and continued firing till every man was killed or wounded. Two more machine guns, pushed forward to support the right, met a similar fate. Another machine gun, worked by Maoris, had ten casualties, the officer being killed, but the others fought on.

The small force that had gained the crest had to stand

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a withering fire from Turkish artillery, machine guns, and rifles. Bombs also thinned their ranks. With rifle and bayonet they repelled repeated attacks. The Gloucesters on their left were in as bad a plight and lost all their officers, but they too hung on. Two of the Wellington Companies went over the crest and got into a small Turkish trench without traverses. There were about fifty men on each flank. Major Hastings, who had been sent up from Head-quarters, hoisted the two flags that were to show the position gained, so that it might not be shelled by our own guns. In this little Turkish trench, on the eastward side, Malone established his head-quarters, and there the fighting went on for some time. Some 30 Welsh Pioneers held on under Major Stevens. Advancing in daylight they had been badly cut up on the way. The New Zealanders, sheltered by the little knob, held on and began to dig energetically. On the left of the knoll were the 7th Gloucesters, many of whom were casualties from rifle, machine gun, and shell fire. Some shells from the ships fell amongst them and caused further casualties. Possibly they had not got their flags up, in which case the naval gunners could not be blamed. Earlier in the day, about 9 a.m., the enemy, who had been massing on the New Zealand flank, counter-attacked with bombs and a fusillade of rifle and machine-gun fire, but was repelled. The bombs had long fuses, and often, before they exploded, the New Zealanders grasped them and threw them back at the enemy. Occasionally, when there was a slackening in the shower of bombs, some of the more daring spirits charged forward, with fixed bayonets, to deal with the Turks at close quarters, and then, such of them as had not been seriously hit, would come back to their own shallow trench. So many of the New Zealanders were shot in the trench that they had to clear their dead out of it to make room for the living. By this time the men were very tired, and some were dozing off from want of sleep. At length Malone decided to abandon the bit of trench he held and dig another trench some fifteen or twenty yards in rear. Time after time the Turks came up from the south and attacked. The Wellington men, now almost shot to bits, had so many dead and wounded in the trench that it afforded them but little protection. They had no water left. They were short of tools. The enemy gave them little time to dig, and the ground was so hard that not much impression

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could be made on it without great effort on the part of the tired men. So hard was it that picks were broken and shovels bent in the endeavour to dig down. The wounded suffered not only from their wounds, but from the pangs of thirst as well. Some were hit again and put out of their misery. Others died lingeringly but gamely.

In all this trying deadly work Malone was wonderfully cheery, dynamically energetic, and gloriously brave. In the afternoon, while still setting a splendid example to his men, he was badly wounded, and died in the trench about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, mourned by all who knew him, and by many who had only heard of his bravery and his force of character. Whatever shortcomings he may have had—and all men have some—he must always be regarded as one of the most original and heroic figures in the Gallipoli campaign. Major Stathan, of Dunedin, also a gallant soldier and a born leader of men, and his brother, hit by the same shell, died there also. They were only three out of many—the flower of New Zealand manhood who gave their lives in a great endeavour to redeem the earlier mistakes and failures of the campaign. Nor did they die in vain, for with other troops of the British Empire and of France, so gallantly led, they had by this time shattered many of the finest regiments in the Turkish Army, and the precious blood that had been poured out on the beaches and the rugged heights of the Peninsula had made the final victory for which we all prayed the more certain.

All that morning the succeeding lines found greater and greater difficulty in their attempts to reach the crest of the ridge and reinforce their comrades holding on there. Then the left was slowly driven in by Turks who came down the communication trench that ran along the backbone of the ridge. Always they were in superior force. Hastings went back for reinforcements, and in the afternoon Major Schofield came up with 150 of the Auckland Regiment. Throughout the long fight there must have been many gallant deeds done that were never recorded. The determination, the endurance, and the pluck of some of the wounded were almost beyond belief. P. McGurk, shot through the foot, fought on till a second bullet shattered his other leg, breaking both bones. He was a big powerful fellow, and all through the long daylight hours he lay out on the ridge. As night fell he started to crawl back.

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Pulling himself along with his hands, and trailing his wounded limbs, he wormed his way through the scrub and down the steep slopes to Brigade Head-quarters, far below. Already Corporal Bassett had won the first Victoria Cross for the New Zealanders. He was a young bank clerk, who with great bravery got the signal lines through and repaired them repeatedly under heavy fire, while, on one of his return trips, he brought a wounded man back with him.

But it must not for one moment be thought that the New Zealanders had any monopoly of this bravery. On the left many an Englishman and many Indians, though they made slower progress, fought and died according to the traditions of the British Army. On our left the Indians, led by Lieut.-Col. Cecil Allanson, entered the battle after 65 days at Helles, where they had lost heavily in men and officers. With the Gurkhas there were now left only two of their own officers. The others were new—fine fellows, but they were not known to their men and could not speak their language. One battalion was shattered in reinforcing Monash on the left. On the 8th of August they had stuck below the crest of the ridge, and for the greater part of the day we could see their flags waving there in the breeze. The reason was that there was a terrific Turkish fire from the crest and from the left, and any one who showed himself soon became a victim to the accurate marksmanship of the enemy. Allanson lay there in the scrub with his men from 9 a.m. till 6 p.m.

Anticipating slightly the course of events, the efforts of this force, upon which to such a large extent depended the success of the attack on Sari Bair, may here be briefly dealt with. It was on the following day, in the third assault, that they gained the crest of the ridge, and saw the Turkish garrison of some 200 men, unnerved by the heavy bombardment, running back from their summit trench. And they saw also that view which, for so long, all at Anzac had longed to see. Below, on the eastern side of the Peninsula, stretched the shimmering ribbon of the Dardanelles, and a short white thread of dusty road, with a few motor cars and wagons of the Turkish Army going and coming.

All the officers except Allanson were killed or wounded, and finally he was wounded. They brought him to the doctor (Phipson, D.S.O.), who dressed his leg, and thence he was carried down to the dressing-station by bearers. Phipson

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stayed among the mass of wounded, attending to their injuries and talking to them in his brave cheery way. Allanson had left Subadar-Major Galuba Sing Pun in charge of the shattered force, after an affecting parting. He got three of the other native officers who were close at hand and told them they were to do as well as Sing Pun for the rest of the war. They said they would. Afterwards, at the evacuation, they came to Allanson and asked him, ' Have we lived up to the standard of Pun ? ' Pun was recommended for the V.C., but got only a Military Cross. In this strange country there were some 300 of the native troops left without a single white officer. They had lost 300 in killed and wounded. The retreat from the crest of the ridge had been ordered by Allanson after a disastrous shelling, following which the Turks advanced. The shelling apparently came from recently landed howitzers at Anzac. Possibly no good object could have been achieved by staying there. The whole force would have been either killed or captured. The men left their rifles, but took away the bolts. One of the Gurkhas who was in charge of the machine guns, outdistanced in the first climb, eventually rejoined his comrades below the ridge, and with his four guns repelled five Turkish attacks. Such initiative was unusual in a native. Later he was killed.

While the little force was being hardly pressed, Allanson fell in with Radcliffe, a Gordon Highlander, and asked him to bring up more men. He did so, but many of them, including two subalterns, were killed and wounded. At that stage of the fighting the Turks were in such strength and had such commanding positions that a hundred yards' advance by our force cost a lot of men. On the 7th the Indian Brigade lost scarcely any men, and Allanson is of opinion that, had he left Monash and gone right on, he might have got his whole force up with but few casualties and held the position, but when he was a quarter of the way up he was stopped by a letter from General Cox asking him to hold on to outposts. Up to this point, said Allanson, it was like a field day, scarcely a shot was fired at them, and the Turks were on the run. The endeavour to untie Monash caused a fatal delay that enabled the enemy to reinforce his position on the Ridge, and repel the subsequent attack. By such narrow margins are victories gained or lost.

The hold that had been gained by the New Zealanders on

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Chunuk Bair had given some prospect of success to a renewed assault, and at 4.30 a.m. on the 9th August a heavy bombardment of the Sari Bair Hill Q line heralded a third attack upon these heights. The object was to consolidate the ground won on the 8th, and to gain the whole of Chunuk Bair extending to the south-east. Away on the left what remained of Cox's left assaulting column resumed the attack on Hill Q, and fought bravely but without success, although, as has been told, the Indian Brigade actually gained, and for 10 minutes held, the ridge. Meanwhile, in the centre, on the right of Cox's column and on the left of the New Zealanders, a fresh column from the Corps Reserve under Brig.-Gen. Baldwin was formed to push forward east of 'The Farm' and link up Cox's forces with the New Zealand position. This column, however, through being misdirected, failed to make headway and met with disaster, Baldwin himself and several of his officers being killed. Throughout all this day the New Zealanders, in spite of repeated attacks, maintained their ground and still held a somewhat precarious footing on the crest of Chunuk Bair.

By this time the strain upon all the services had become very great. The medical service, especially, was severely tested. There had been some bungle with regard to extra personnel for the Sari Bair attack. At all events it had not arrived, and for some time Major Holmes in the clearing station at No. 2 Outpost, with the assistance of one orderly, struggled hopelessly to cope with the many wounded who needed attention. The Deres became half choked with wounded who had walked down from the heights. The bearers, working with great bravery, carried others down, but there were, alas! many who waited in vain for assistance. Some who could not walk crawled, others who could neither walk nor crawl rolled down the slopes to places of comparative safety. Several of them were found by their comrades or the stretcher bearers, and eventually reached the Casualty Clearing Station. Others died in the scrub, to the pain of their wounds being added the pangs of hunger, and more especially of thirst. At No. 2 Outpost, quite close to Divisional Head-quarters, the wounded lay in long rows on the hard ground, baked by the hot sun and tormented by thousands of flies. The provision for evacuation was altogether inadequate. On the beach in front of Divisional Head-quarters a little wooden pier had been

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flimsily built in the sands that were lapped by the waves of the Sea of Saros. Fortunately the weather was calm. Under the shelter of the small sand-hills the wounded were collected to await their turn to be towed off in boats to the hospital ships. This beach was under fire and the enemy, seeing the tows going and coming, and probably not knowing that they contained our wounded, shelled the beach and the boats, some of the wounded being wounded again. Eventually the frail jetty, which was largely the work of soldiers and not of engineers, and had been put together with nails instead of bolts, twisted on its insecure foundation and then collapsed altogether. After this the wounded had to be evacuated down the long, hot, dusty, fly-invested sap to Anzac—a trying ordeal alike for wounded and for bearers. Occasionally the bearers would meet a mule train carrying water, provisions, or ammunition, and there would be a temporary block in the sap. At awkward corners the badly wounded would have to be taken off the stretchers and carried round the bends in the trench. Many who, under ordinary circumstances, should have been carried, limped painfully and slowly down supported by comrades to Walker's Pier under the shelter of The Sphinx and Ari Burnu. Divisional Head-quarters itself was under machine-gun, rifle, and shell fire. Colonel Manders of the Indian Medical Service, a capable and beloved officer, who was working strenuously on Godley's staff to cope with the difficulties, sitting at the mouth of his dug-out talking to a New Zealand officer, was seen to throw up his hands and fall dead with a bullet through his brain. We buried him under cover of darkness, General Godley himself reading the burial service, or as much of it as could be seen by the light of an electric torch. Later, when the head-quarters were shifted over the rise into Otago Gully, General Godley's mess was shattered by a Turkish shell, and men digging dug-outs for greater safety were killed and wounded by other shells. Such were the difficulties and dangers under which the Force laboured in attempting to gain the heights of Sari Bair.

In the midst of all the stress and strain the enemy launched a most determined counter-attack on the new positions which had been gained on the crest and slopes of the main ridge. The assault came from the line Chunuk Bair–Hill 'Q'. During the night of the 9th–10th August the New Zealand troops in occupation of the highest point now held on the Peninsula

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were relieved. They had been fighting for three days and three nights with no sleep and with little food and water, and their relief was imperatively necessary. Human endurance could go no farther. The position they had held under such difficulties was handed over to the 6th Loyal North Lancashire regiment and the 5th Wiltshire regiment, the 10th Hampshire regiment connecting them with the English troops about the Farm on the left, just below the top of Chunuk Bair.

In the half-light of early dawn the Turks, in great force, estimated at two divisions, were seen coming over the ridge against the sky-line. They advanced in long lines, only a few paces separating one man from another, and they came on in line after line with the greatest gallantry. One tall big man, evidently an officer, stood bravely amid the shot and shell, silhouetted against the dawn, waving his men on with a sword or a stick. It was a magnificent example of courage. The main attack was against the advanced positions now held by the two British battalions. These were assailed with bombs and knives, and quickly overwhelmed, only a very few survivors escaping to the position held by the New Zealanders on Rhododendron Spur.

In successive waves, at a loping trot, half walk, half run, and with their rifles at the port, the Turks came on. But very early in their advance the New Zealand machine gunners on Rhododendron Spur and the Apex had seen them on the sky-line, and, with accurate aim, poured in a deadly fire till their guns were hot. With these streams of lead the Turkish ranks were thinned at the outset. The New Zealand and other field batteries, too, were quickly in action, and then the ships with their big guns and their secondary armament sent shell after shell shrieking on to the ridge and its summit slopes. Line after line of advancing Turks was blotted out; yet other lines unfalteringly came on over the ridge—down into the Valley of Death. None could fail to admire the bravery, fatalism, or discipline, or the combination of all three, that carried these gallant soldiers forward in the face of a withering and demoralizing fire. Men could be seen to stagger and fall headlong down the slope and remain prone on some bare patch, or to rise again and limp back through the scrub or into one of the topmost trenches for shelter. Shrapnel, bursting accurately on the seaward slopes, wiped out whole groups of the enemy.

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It was more than human flesh and blood could stand, and presently a few of the Turks began to go back over the ridge, some bending low in their endeavour to escape notice, others strolling boldly back with fatalistic unconcern. One such wounded man emerged from the smoke and hail of a shrapnel shell that had killed or wounded all who were with him, and began to limp painfully back up the steep slope. Enthralled we watched his progress. Near the summit he wavered as if hit again. In admiration of his bravery most of our gunners and riflemen forbore to shoot at him, and when at last he reached the sky-line and scrambled over into the comparative safety of a Turkish trench one little group of New Zealanders raised a cheer in honour of his effort. Throughout the whole morning the battle raged with tremendous losses to the enemy, but before noon the determined onrush had been stemmed, and there was scarcely a Turk who was not dead or wounded left on the seaward slopes of Chunuk Bair. Later there was an intense bombardment of the enemy positions along the ridge. The lyddite played havoc with their trenches, and sent great clouds of smoke and earth high in the air. Occasionally could be seen on the edge of these clouds a sand-bag, a baulk of timber, or the body of a Turk whirling skyward and falling to earth again. One Turk, his rifle flying after him, and his arms and legs spread-eagled, was shot upward and outward till he fell over the steep face into a narrow ravine near the summit of Chunuk Bair, where lay many of our men and of the enemy dead from the previous days' fighting. Night closed in upon the scene with the enemy badly shaken on the battered crest and reverse slopes of Chunuk Bair. But both sides had fought to a standstill. There had been terrible carnage, and, for New Zealand, these were sad though glorious days—days that will live in history as long as the Empire lasts. The Turkish losses we could only guess. In General Godley's force the casualties were 375 officers and 10,000 other ranks, killed, wounded, and missing. Few of the missing were heard of again.

While the operations against Sari Bair had failed in their main object, they had succeeded in adding largely to the perimeter of Anzac. They failed only through the failure on the left—the full story of which has yet to be related. The failure left the position on the left Anzac flank insecure, and further fighting, on a minor scale, but still costly, had to be

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undertaken. On the 21st August the IXth Corps, reinforced by the veteran 29th Division from Helles and by a dismounted division of British Yeomanry from Egypt, was ordered to resume the attack on the Anafarta Hills, aiming in the first place at Scimitar Hill and Ismail Oglu Tepe, known also as the 'W' Hills, from which the Turks were able to search the Anzac positions with their well-hidden batteries. General Godley's force was to co-operate, especially on his left flank. New Zealand was concerned mainly with the attack on Kaiajik Aghala or Hill 60, the possession of which would secure the communications between Anzac and Suvla and bring within our lines a fine supply of water at the wells of Kabak Kuyu. This was entrusted to Brig.-Gen. Russell, who had under his command the Canterbury and Otago regiments of the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade, 500 men from an Australian Brigade just arrived, a battalion of Home British troops, and No. 2 Company of the New Zealand Engineers. The artillery bombardment of the enemy's position fronting this force had to be somewhat curtailed owing to a portion of our artillery being placed at the disposal of the IXth Corps.

The attack was in daylight, and the enemy from his commanding positions swept the plain with a storm of shot and shell. Again the Suvla attack failed with heavy casualties. Fires broke out in the dry grass, further hampering the advance of the IXth Corps troops, and making pitiable in the extreme the plight of such of the wounded as could not walk. The Anzac attack fared better. The New Zealand Mounted Rifles went in, afoot, with bayonet and bomb, dashing in 50-yard rushes through a hail of fire. Men fell quickly, but still their comrades pressed on. They were the yeomen of New Zealand, brave-hearted men used to rough work, and though weakened by disease and a long spell of strenuous fighting, they never for one moment faltered, and, reaching the first enemy stronghold, bombed its occupants down the communication trench. An abandoned enemy machine gun was brought into action, and a counter-attack beaten off. The New Zealanders held grimly on to the little bit of enemy trench which they had gained. The Australians, meeting with a still hotter fire, had failed to get up level with the New Zealanders. Major Grigor, of the Otagos, got some of his men to work up the right communication trench with bombs into

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a second trench, but in default of touch with the Australians on the right, it could not be held. Twelve men went into it, and ten of them were cut off.

During the night an extraordinary thing happened. Between 200 and 300 Turks were seen coming through the scrub towards our lines with their rifles slung. Then they stopped, but a few approached our trench, with their hands up, as if they wished to surrender. Our men pulled them in, took their rifles from them, and sent them back to explain to their comrades that we were willing to accept their surrender. But both sides, apparently, had failed to make the situation clear. After various attempts, mingled with some shooting from the English troops farther afield, and an endeavour on the part of one Turk to get *our* men to lay down their arms, Major Grigor himself went along to the left of the trench and spoke to some Turks there. They had been shaking hands with our men in a friendly way. A big Turk shook hands with Grigor, who was half his size. The Turk's grip tightened, and the New Zealand Major felt himself being drawn out of the trench. Grigor managed to tear himself free, and as the Turk did not fire Grigor walked back to his own men. He then gave the order to fire, and the Turks scurried back into the scrub, though not all of them. It appears that for some reason or other the Turks thought *we* wanted to surrender, and we thought *they* did.

At daylight on the morning of the 22nd the 18th Australian Battalion, newly arrived, was engaged in an attack on the upper slopes of the hill to relieve the desperate position of the New Zealanders. Unskilled in bombing, the Turks drove them to the New Zealand line, where they remained. The New Zealand Mounteds were thus left in about two hundred yards of trench, the rest of which was held by the enemy. Our men barricaded themselves in with sand-bags. In this fight the Otago regiment had lost very heavily, about 60 per cent. of their men being killed and wounded. The Canterburys and some Maoris who were also in the fight lost heavily. Both sides dug in more deeply, the Turk, as usual, working with extraordinary industry and energy. Bombing was almost continuous and there was intermittent rifle fire.

It was then decided to charge the hill at night, and everything was got ready, but as there were no troops to support

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us on the left, the attack was deferred till August 27th when after a bombardment the enemy trenches were carried in daylight. The remnant of the Canterbury Mounteds, about a hundred men with five officers, were in the first line, with a few Auckland bombers supporting them right and left. Wellington and Otago men formed the second line. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon, as soon as the heavy bombardment was over, they advanced, and were met with a hot fire. Their lines were sadly thinned, but with the greatest gallantry they continued their advance, and reaching the first enemy trench jumped in among the Turks, nearly all of whom they killed with bomb and bayonet. There was furious hand-to-hand fighting, during which revolvers, knives, and even fists were used. One young New Zealand officer at grips with a big Turk found his man jabbing at him with a sharp-pointed table-knife. The New Zealander, with a new holster, had difficulty in getting his revolver out, but he succeeded in time and killed the Turk. The New Zealander was reported killed, but a few hours later, bleeding from the knife wounds, he walked into his brother's dug-out at head-quarters.

The captured trenches became choked with dead, and climbing over the bodies it was difficult in places for our men to avoid the enemy rifle and machine-gun fire. Out of this first trench the gallant Mounteds now climbed to attack the enemy trench ahead, and again the sorely-thinned ranks encountered another storm of lead, and man after man dropped as they charged. Right and left the supporting troops were making but little progress, but the New Zealanders held the ground they had won at such a terrible sacrifice, and a battalion of the Connaught Rangers, like other units, sadly thinned in numbers, came up and occupied the long trench on their left. All the time the Turks were being reinforced, and they fought bravely in spite of their very heavy losses. The New Zealanders had taken half the top of the hill. They began to improve the trench they occupied, sand-bagging, digging, and shifting the parapet to their own front. A heavy bombing fight continued, the Turks coming on continually. Barricades were made with sand-bags filled with earth, and the result was a short No Man's Land of about ten yards which kept the enemy from getting to close quarters. By nightfall the Mounteds were holding on very well, but Turkish pressure on the left forced

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the Connaughts back; by 11 p.m. the enemy was in possession of the whole of the left trench, and the New Zealanders had to sand-bag the other trenches leading into it to hold them off. The remnants of the Mounteds were still fighting against the Turks with bomb and rifle, and they held on gallantly. Afterwards two regiments of the brave Australian 3rd Light Horse Brigade were put in on the nights of the 27th and 28th August, and they completed the capture, as far as it ever went, of those trenches.

During this fighting the New Zealanders suffered the loss of one of their bravest chaplains, Grant of the Wellington Mounted Rifles. With another padre, he was close up attending to the wounded, bandaging friend and foe alike, and ministering to their wants as best he could. Grant went down a trench that was choked with Turkish dead and wounded. He dressed the wounds of one or two and went on over the dead with his padre friend to find a New Zealand wounded man. Presently they heard voices, and his companion said he thought they were Turks. Grant decided to push on to the wounded man. Almost immediately there was a shot from a Turkish rifle, and the brave padre fell forward. Then shooting began all round, savagely, the bullets whistling in from every direction, and it was impossible for the other chaplain to get his friend out. A New Zealand trooper went down the sap later, but could find no trace of Grant.

After the gains on Hill 60, in which British, Australian, and New Zealand troops took part, there were no more big battles. Hamilton was left with 95,000 men facing 110,000 Turks still holding the dominating positions on the Peninsula. The necessary reinforcements for a further effort were not forthcoming. On the contrary, some of the troops were taken for the new venture which was being taken in hand at Salonika. Accordingly, the two armies settled down to trench warfare. The British Divisions alone were 45,000 under establishment. The enemy was in receipt of better ammunition, and heavy guns were on their way to the Peninsula via Bulgaria. Then came Hamilton's recall. His affection for the Anzacs was reciprocated by all who had met him and many who had not. Kitchener's visit was a memorable incident in a memorable campaign. Monro took charge of the whole Force. Birdwood followed him, and Godley then took over the command of

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Anzac—the enlarged Anzac. Russell was given the command of the New Zealand and Australian Division. Preparations for a winter campaign were under way, but after Kitchener's visit evacuation was decided upon. Then came the blizzard, and the contending armies were further thinned by the hand of Providence. A south-west gale with a thunderstorm, rivalling in its resonance the thunder of our greatest bombardments, swept the Aegean Sea and roared across the hills and valleys of the Peninsula with increasing fury. The piers at Anzac were damaged, the flotilla at Kephalos piled high on the beach, and bigger ships driven ashore. On the Peninsula dug-outs dripped, and trenches were half filled with water or became ankle-deep in mud. Then the wind went to the north, and a blizzard raged. At low-lying Suvla, men standing at their posts in the trenches were found frozen to death, their rifles still in their stiffened hands. The New Zealanders and Australians, in the better drained and less exposed trenches on the higher ground, did not fare so badly. To the great majority of the Australians snow was a novelty. They saw it now for the first time, and watched with wondering eyes the dark foliage of the ilex bushes and the tender green of the olive trees change to frosted silver under the magic hand of winter. Few of the Anzacs went sick, and the great majority of the 10,000 men evacuated after the blizzard came from the battalions on the Suvla plain. There the Turk was in just as bad a case, or worse, for he was not so well fed nor so well clothed as the British troops.

The decision regarding evacuation was hastened by the blizzard. The news, which, till almost the last, was kept a profound secret, came as a staggering blow to many of the Anzacs. General Godley was heard to say he would much rather leave his bones on the Peninsula, and the men of his command were confident that no amount of heavy shelling that the Turk could bring to bear would have driven us from our positions. The ground was well suited for digging in, and as a matter of fact a great deal in this direction had already been accomplished by the Anzacs. Early in November the naval officers were keen to make another attempt to force the passage of the Straits. Kitchener asked Birdwood to work out a plan for the occupation of the Bulair Isthmus, and was against evacuation, which he thought would end in disaster

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and condemn a large percentage of the force to death and imprisonment. Birdwood knew well that the Bulair scheme would not have been a success, and then Kitchener changed his mind and asked him, on the 4th November, quietly and secretly to work out a plan for the evacuation of the whole position. On the 7th December word came by telegram that the Cabinet had decided upon evacuation, and the plans were made, in minute detail, and with consummate skill, one and all, from the higher commands down to the privates in the trenches, carrying out orders with loyal co-operation and determination worthy of the best traditions of our race. The enterprise bristled with difficulties that it seemed almost hopeless to surmount. To such an extent was this the case that the final triumphant success, when it did come, was difficult to realize. To begin with, there were lengthy periods of silence to accustom the enemy to that final period of silence which would come at the end. The idea that the troops were to go to Mudros for a rest was sedulously cultivated, but towards the end the ' rest camp ' became a joke. Throughout the whole of the operation many ruses were adopted to make the enemy believe that conditions were remaining normal. There was even an attempt to make him think that we were landing a new force, and to such an extent did this succeed that the Turks made preparations to repel another attack. After a considerable proportion of the force had departed, men were sent to march in places where they would be seen by the enemy. Fires were kept burning in deserted camps, and stretcher parties, with only blankets on their stretchers, walked about abandoned Casualty Clearing Stations. Some of the troops even played a game of cricket on a bit of comparatively level land dangerously exposed to the Turkish fire.

Early in the operations the sick and wounded were sent away. Never before was it so easy for a man to get off the Peninsula. With a temperature one degree above normal he could obtain his marching orders. But when it became known that there was no question of a ' Rest Camp ', and that it was a matter of an evacuation with all its perilous possibilities, there were men who fought both disease and doctors in order that they might stay to the end. There were men who had been at the landing, and who now begged to be among the last to leave. Many of the New Zealanders had had a spell at Mudros.

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Rested and reinforced now they still held the post of honour in the highest trenches at the Apex. They had dug great caverns till the position was practically impregnable. The engineers and the soldiers had done wonderful work at the Apex.

Towards the end the humorists got to work, labelled their dug-outs 'To Let', and left many messages for Abdul, including good wishes for Christmas and the New Year, with promises to come back later. A New Zealand battery commander left his table set with a meal of bully beef, bread, jam, and a bottle of whisky, with compliments to the commander of 'Beachy Bill', a gun that from first to last had taken heavy toll of the Anzacs. But he did not leave his guns. Every New Zealand gun, and even the artillery horses were got away. The men who were chosen to hang on to the last were known as the 'Die-hards', but even they refused to be downhearted, and chaffed each other as to the various capacities in which they would shortly be appearing in Constantinople. Underlying, however, all this fun and frolic in the presence of extreme danger there was sadness that we should be leaving, without a further struggle for victory, ground reddened with the best blood of the far-away islands, and, above all, there was regret in leaving behind the brave comrades who had fought their last fight and were now sleeping on alien soil. There was almost a fear that they might know we were stealing away in the silence of the night. Feelingly one man put this phase of thought to his commander. 'I hope, Sir,' he said, 'that those fellows who lie buried here will be sleeping soundly and will not hear us as we march away.'

The spirit of the men remained magnificent. Suspense grew as the last days passed, for there was always a possibility that the Turks would attack our attenuated lines. Even then both officers and men had a supreme confidence in their ability to repel such an attack. The New Zealand General—now in command of the Corps—finally took all ranks into his confidence, and issued an order expressing his trust in their discretion as well as in their high soldierly qualities that would enable them to carry out a task the success of which would depend largely upon individual efforts. In the case of an attack he expressed confidence that the men who had to their credit such deeds as the original landing at Anzac, the repulse

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of the great Turkish attack on the 19th May, the capture of Lone Pine, the Apex, and Hill 60, would hold their ground with the same valour and steadfastness as heretofore, however small in numbers they might be. This confidence was not misplaced. At the Apex, heavily shelled to the end, the New Zealanders were literally tumbling over one another to be the last to leave. Lieut.-Col. Hart, commanding the Wellington Battalion, called for 30 volunteers from two companies to stay to the end. Every man in the two companies volunteered, and he had to make the selection himself. 'Have you many volunteers for the "Die-hards"?' one Commander was asked. 'Every mother's son of them wants to be a "Die-hard",' was the reply. This was at a time when it was thought that practically all the 'Die-hards' would be either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. At the last muster of one section before they started to march down to the beach it was found that two were missing. One had gone back to his 'bivvy' for something he had forgotten; the other had returned to the firing-line for his pipe.

The two phases of the operation have been dealt with in the Australian section of this work, and there is no need to detail them here. Gradually the New Zealand guns were reduced in number, and those that remained did double duty. Shells that before were hoarded as if worth their weight in gold, were now, like dukes in Gilbert's libretto, 'two a penny,' and the gunners banged them in for all they were worth.

On Sunday the 12th December there was morning service in the open air. The impending departure added to the solemnity of the scene. To the singing of the hymns was added a new fervour. With pent feelings one joined in the verse of the National Anthem with which the service closed, and watched, not unmoved, and for the last time, those war-worn Crusaders, so far away from their own land, raising their voices in supplication for their gracious King amidst the hills and dales where they had fought for him so bravely. On sheltered slopes the empty bivouacs seemed like socketless eyes that had lost their light, and the deserted hospital tents, peopled with only the ghosts of the dead, seemed strangely forlorn. Through their canvas doors, now flapping idly in the Aegean wind, many a brave but sorely stricken warrior had

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set out on his last journey down the long straight sap that leads to a Kingdom where there is no war.

On the last days units and details for embarkation were assembled in the dark on the little flat near Divisional Head-quarters. The Otago Mounteds, some of the Maoris, and a few of the Auckland Mounteds spent nearly the whole night in the sap leading to the embarkation point—a slow column, creeping along inch by inch, yard by yard—but failed to reach, on that occasion, the barges that were to take them off, so great was the crush, and so difficult the packing of the troops into the barges. Gradually the troops were got away, till on the last night there was only a very thin line in front of the whole Turkish Army. On the last day the force remaining was divided into A, B, and C parties. The A men got away soon after dusk, B party at nine o'clock. There was left now only the C party of 23 officers and 137 other ranks. These were the real 'Die-hards':

	Officers.	*Other ranks.*	*Total*
Brigade Head-quarters. .	–	4	4
Auckland Battalion . .	7	34	44
Wellington Battalion . .	8	59	67
Canterbury Battalion . .	8	37	45
	23	137	160

This party was in command of Colonel Young of the Canterbury Battalion. In case of unforeseen circumstances, he was given an entirely free hand. No one was to quit the trenches before 1.50 a.m., when all machine guns and one-third of the men in the firing-line were to withdraw rapidly to the embarkation point at North Beach. At 2 a.m. another third were to withdraw, and at 2.15 a.m. the rest of the party were to leave. There was no question of fighting a rearguard action or of maintaining covering positions in rear to protect troops in front as they withdrew. On the contrary, the principle was to evacuate as many as possible at the expense of the few, so that the troops in rear were withdrawn before those in front, thus giving more freedom of movement to the latter. Men wounded who were unable to walk were to be bandaged and left on the ground. If attacked before 1.50 a.m. the force remaining was to hold out to the last man at all costs, and had occasion arisen there is not the least doubt that they would have done

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so. If attacked on a small scale after 1.50 a.m., when the withdrawal had commenced, the withdrawal had still to be continued, while the remaining men concentrated their fire on the threatened point and continued their withdrawal at the stated time. If attacked by an overwhelming force after 1.50 a.m., it was recognized that nothing would be gained by offering a stout resistance, and so orders were to be given by the senior officers on the spot for the withdrawal of all that remained of the force. For this latter contingency very special arrangements had to be made. Away out at Hill 60 were the New Zealand Mounted Rifles on the left flank. They had the longest march of any of the New Zealanders, but General Russell himself in those last days had made all these journeys, noting the time it took for each, and at the end everything worked according to plan. Four signallers fully armed and selected for their efficiency and ability were to remain till the end. They were under a corporal who had landed on the first day, and who had never been absent one hour owing to sickness. To the last moment every order was calmly and expeditiously carried out. Normal conditions were maintained till the end, and even for some considerable time after the trenches were absolutely deserted, for, by ingenious arrangements, fixed rifles and bombs continued to go off right along the line at irregular intervals. As this mechanical firing went on, the last of the New Zealanders were stealing silently down the *Deres* and along the winding sap to the sea, where they were crammed like sardines into the ' Beetle ' barges, and so out to the dim outlines of ships that carried them back to Egypt.

The total New Zealand casualties in Gallipoli exceeded 7,000. In other words, they almost equalled the original numbers of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force. Great things the New Zealanders accomplished later in the war, as will be told in the following pages. Great achievements may await them in the future. But their exploits at Gallipoli will to all time have a special significance for New Zealand and for the whole British Empire. The difficulties which they were called upon to face, the hardships which they endured, might well have tried veteran soldiers inured to war. To have come through the ordeal as a first experience of war with such distinction and credit as they gained from all with whom they served, proved them to have been men of unusual calibre, who

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assimilated with singular rapidity the best traditions and the highest standards of the British Army. If General Birdwood could claim for the New Zealand Division that 'no finer or better organized division served in France', it was at Gallipoli that the New Zealanders served their apprenticeship, learnt their lessons, and made the name which they so nobly upheld in the later years of the war.

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CHAPTER II

ON THE WESTERN FRONT

In Gallipoli the New Zealanders had formed part of a composite Division, the New Zealand and Australian Division. In the course of 1915 the New Zealand Government raised a new unit, the New Zealand Rifle Brigade, the first two battalions of which reached Egypt before the end of the year and saw active service against the Senussi, while the 3rd and 4th Battalions arrived in March 1916. Over and above this new unit a steady stream of reinforcements for the original Expeditionary Force had been pouring into Egypt, the casualties in that Force had after August 1915 greatly decreased as the fighting on the Gallipoli Peninsula died down, and though there was much invaliding, the death-rate was low. Egypt, therefore, contained a large accumulation of recovered wounded men and convalescent sick, and the total numbers available enabled the authorities to expand the Expeditionary Force into a complete New Zealand Division. From each existing battalion a second battalion was formed, a nucleus of experienced officers and non-commissioned officers being provided by the old unit. Thus two infantry brigades were created out of the old Expeditionary Force, convalescents and reinforcements, and the New Zealand Rifles constituted a third infantry brigade. Similarly the artillery was expanded from two brigades to four, a third company of Engineers was raised out of the Field troop, and other departmental units were added as they were needed. The Otago Mounted Rifles, which had hitherto served as divisional cavalry, now provided a squadron to serve as divisional cavalry, the other members of this unit being transferred to a Pioneer battalion. The battalion at first included whites and Maoris, but subsequently. became a purely Maori battalion, which did remarkable work, generally under fire, during the time when the Division was engaged on the Western Front. The New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade, the Auckland, Wellington, and Canterbury Mounted Rifles, having contributed generously from their

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numbers to the completion of the New Zealand Division, were now separated from their comrades and under the command of Brig.-Gen. E. C. Chaytor, C.B., C.M.G., formed part of the Australian and New Zealand Mounted Division, which was to serve with so much distinction in Sinai and Palestine. The New Zealand Division was placed under the command of Major-Gen. Sir A. H. Russell, K.C.M.G. Lieut.-Gen. Sir A. J. Godley, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., was now to command a Corps, but retained his position as General Officer commanding the New Zealand Expeditionary Force. Brig.-Gen. G. N. Johnston commanded the Divisional Field Artillery, Brig.-Gen. F. E. Johnston the First Infantry Brigade, Brig.-Gen. W. G. Braithwaite the Second Infantry Brigade, and Brig.-Gen. H. T. Fulton the Third New Zealand (Rifles) Brigade. Later, Administrative Head-quarters were established in England under the command of Brig.-Gen. G. S. Richardson, C.M.G. Except that the 3rd and 4th Battalions of the Rifle Brigade had not yet arrived from New Zealand, the re-organization was complete by the 1st March 1916. So far the New Zealanders since their arrival from Gallipoli had been in reserve in Egypt, but now, during March, they took part in the defence of the Suez Canal.

On the 7th March 1916 instructions were received from the War Office that the Division was to be prepared to embark for France in about a month's time. On the 6th April the embarkation began at Port Said and Alexandria, and in high spirits the New Zealanders set out to win new triumphs on battlefields very different from those of Gallipoli. By the end of April the Division was concentrated in France.

In the two and a half years of fighting which the New Zealanders saw on the Western Front, some main events stand out prominently, their share in the second phase of the battle of the Somme, 1916, when they took part with success in three attacks on the 15th September, 26th September, and 1st October, their exploits at Messines in June 1917, their capture of the Gravenstafel Ridge in the battle of Broodseinde, followed by a less successful attack on Bellevue Spur in October of that year, the share which they took in stemming the German advance on Amiens in the spring of 1918, and later in the year in the great backward drive of the Germans which led to final victory. But it was not only at times of intense fighting that

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BRIG.-GENERAL G. S. RICHARDSON

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the quality of the Division was tested and its efficiency proved. Though only the briefest mention can be made of the long periods of trench warfare which intervened between the Somme and Messines, they gave ample opportunities to the Division to establish their ascendancy over the enemy troops opposed to them, by minor enterprises carefully planned and skilfully executed, by unremitting vigilance and work, by discipline of a high order.

In France the first Head-quarters of the Division were at Blaringhem, near Hazebrouck, and in that region, in the Second Army area, the concentration took place. The change from the uncomfortable dug-outs of Gallipoli and the desert tents of Egypt to comfortable billets in the villages and farms of Northern France was much appreciated, though afterwards, in the damp dug-outs and the mud of Flanders and of the Somme, the Division had its full share of the discomforts of the Western Campaign. Warfare, as it had been evolved on the Western Front, differed in kind, it might almost be said, from the fighting at Gallipoli. Here new problems had to be considered, such as precautions against poison and lachrymatory gas, more active enemy aircraft, and heavier shelling. The veterans of Gallipoli had, therefore, much to learn, while half of the Division was as yet new to war. Every opportunity, however, for training was fully utilized, and on the 16th May the Division took over the line east of Armentières from the 17th Division. General Russell established his head-quarters close by, in the town of Armentières, which was often heavily shelled by the enemy. Up to the time of the arrival of the New Zealanders, this sector had been remarkable only for its general inactivity. Indeed, so quiet had it become that it was known as 'The Nursery'—a place in which fresh divisions might be received for their baptism of fire. The New Zealanders, however, at once adopted offensive tactics, especially with their artillery, and this brought inevitable retaliation. About this time, too, the policy of raiding enemy trenches became a feature of the trench warfare that had settled down upon the Western Front, a policy having the twofold object of harassing the enemy and keeping up the morale of our own troops. With bayonet, bomb, knobkerrie, and revolver, with hands and faces blackened, sometimes under cover of a barrage, at other times in silence meant to surprise, the raiders sallied forth after nightfall to

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pounce upon the enemy in his front line trenches. In this work the New Zealanders quickly distinguished themselves. But the casualties were not all on the German side, for in three months of trench warfare there were 2,500 New Zealand casualties, though only one-sixth of this number were killed.

On the 29th June, piqued by some fancied wrong, a private deserted from the 1st Wellington Battalion. So far as is known he is the only man who went over to the enemy from the New Zealand Forces during the whole of the war. His father was a Dane, his mother a German. After the Armistice, by a strange coincidence, he was discovered in Germany by a doctor of his own battalion sent in search of British prisoners. He was found working on a farm, and was allowed to remain there.

At 10 a.m. on the 18th August the command of the sector at Armentières passed to the G.O.C. of the 61st Division. Two days later the New Zealanders were entraining for the country behind the battlefield of the Somme. Thence they marched on roads the Romans built, and by ways where, after Crécy, Philip rode with his few remaining barons towards the castle of Labroye and thence to Amiens. Across the Somme the air was pulsing with the drum-fire of relentless bombardments. The presage of impending battle gripped the Force and stimulated the imagination of all but the most prosaic. It was the real thing at last—the entry into one of the great battles on the Western Front. The never-ending traffic streams of a vast organization held the men enthralled, and, even after a tiring march along the dusty roads, they crowded to watch it pass. Looking at the splendid physique and bearing of these overseas battalions one could not fail to recognize their prowess nor doubt that they would add lustre to the shield they had already burnished on the heights of Gallipoli.

On Friday, the 8th September, head-quarters were established at E 11 Central, just beyond Albert, in thin-walled tarpaulin-roofed huts, tents, and dug-outs. All around was a great armed camp, and enemy shells flew overhead in the direction of the battered town of Albert, where the Virgin, with the Christ still in her arms, hung from the bent iron that topped the church spire. Already there were men beseeching their officers to let them go up to the firing line. Teams played football with the English ' Tommies ', and individuals watched

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with unconcealed amusement a sentry of the Guards pacing up and down and turning on his heels like an automaton. Yet before many weeks were past these same New Zealanders had acquired all the mysteries of changing guard from the Guards themselves, and took a pride in competing, one against the other, to see who could do it best. Looking at the strength of St. George's Hill and similar positions already won, the New Zealanders began to realize the dogged determination of the British soldier. 'If our Armies can capture such positions,' said one, 'there is nothing on God's earth that "Fritz" can do to stop us.' And this man spoke the truth.

The New Zealanders found themselves in the XVth Corps with the 4th Army, which, with the French Army on the right, was renewing the offensive on the 15th September. On the 11th September the New Zealand Division took over a sector of the front line near Delville Wood, High Wood being on the crest of the ridge on their left.

This country was very different from the lush lands of Flanders, and unlike anything they had seen before. In all New Zealand there is no place that can be compared with Picardy. The lazily flowing Somme and its tributary the Ancre drain a rolling, chalky tableland of many farms that seem as one, because there is neither fence nor hedge to mark their boundaries. Few farm-houses stand alone, for the farmers are gathered together in villages and in houses that have middens at their front doors. But in this zone even the villages had been swept away in the tornado of modern battle, and their sites were marked only by mounds of splintered timber and broken brick. The woods, too, had been obliterated, except for a few gaunt skeletons of trees. There was no height that New Zealanders would call a hill, let alone a peak, but only ridges rising gently from shallow valleys. Sixty miles from the sea the highest ground was but 500 feet. Thus, when, after hard fighting, they topped the rise between High and Delville Woods they saw no steep declivity, but just a gentle slope leading down to Flers, and beyond land that rose and fell in easy undulation, with villages, still undestroyed, amidst their greenery, and against the far horizon the tree lines of old roads, some of them ruled, like straight lines on a map, in the time of the Romans. But in battles height in low country is of as much relative importance as in an Alpine chain, for even a low ridge gives

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observation far afield to one side, and blinds the eye of the other to much that it would be a gain to see.

In a red dawn that quickly faded in the powder smoke the third phase of the operations on the Somme began. There had been preliminary bombardments of the German defensive positions, but the deafening tumult that now broke out eclipsed all these. Every hollow and every few yards of ridge-side seemed to shield a flashing gun, and soon the landscape was shrouded in a pall of ashen grey. The task set the New Zealanders was to assault and capture a series of trenches on the slope that led from the ridge crest to just beyond the village of Flers. They operated on a front of from nine hundred to a thousand yards, and their final objective was just beyond Flers, about three thousand yards away. At 6.20 a.m. on the morning of the 15th September, the Otago and Auckland Battalions of the Second Infantry Brigade (Brig.-Gen. W. G. Braithwaite) left their assembly trenches, and advancing in waves behind a creeping barrage that lifted 50 yards in every minute, started for the first objective—the Switch Trench. For the first time in war tanks were used, and four were allotted to the New Zealand Division, lanes being left in the barrage so that they could advance in comparative safety. Over the crest of the ridge was a trench lightly held by the enemy. This the New Zealanders took in their stride, and advancing close behind the barrage, soon found themselves at grips with the Germans in the more strongly held Switch Trench. This trench, though out of the view of our observers, had been battered by the artillery, firing by the map. Many Germans had been already killed here by the shelling. Others were now killed with the bayonet, and those who fled down the slope were killed or wounded by rifle fire. Very few prisoners were taken. The tanks were slow in getting up, but their assistance was scarcely needed. Our own men suffered a good deal, especially the second Otagos on the left, from flanking machine-gun and rifle fire that came upon them owing to the delay of the Division adjoining them.

The Switch Trench captured, the 4th Battalion of the Rifle Brigade (Brig.-Gen. H. T. Fulton) now advanced in waves to capture the second objective, the Flers Line, consisting of a fire trench and a support trench, both heavily protected by wire entanglements. At one spot where the wire remained un-

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broken the Riflemen were held up, but two of the tanks arrived opportunely. One, peppered by rifle and machine-gun fire that made but little impression on its tough hide, crawled off to the right. The other crunched straight through the wire, and silencing the German machine guns, enabled the New Zealanders to get into the trench at a point where they quickly collected 300 prisoners. So far the New Zealand attack had been made in the most gallant manner, and already there were many tales of heroism and resource to be chronicled, junior officers and even non-commissioned officers taking charge of units and carrying on after their superior officers had been killed or wounded. There were also instances in which wounded officers and men refused to leave the fight and held on until they could scarcely stand. Flers itself had fallen, mainly through the advent of one of the tanks, which demoralized such of the enemy as still remained above ground. The position after five hours' fierce fighting was that the Switch Trench was safely held, the Rifles were in the Flers and Flers Support Lines, and the village ahead was held by a mixed lot of the New Zealand Rifles and English troops, while men of the New Zealand Rifle Brigade were consolidating a line a little in rear of the third objective on the left of Flers. All night long the position was precarious, for some of the other troops had not yet gained their objectives. The New Zealanders, however, stuck gallantly to the positions which they had won, and even occupied some of the ground out of their own area to protect a flank.

Meantime, a brigade of the New Zealand Artillery (Brig-Gen. G. N. Johnston), ever eager to be in the thick of the battle, had sent back for their horses, and, over ground torn up by shell-fire, had moved up their guns to advanced positions just behind what a few hours before had been the front line. For the first time in war they had experienced the exhilarating sensation of fulfilling the true functions of field artillery. Their shooting had been splendid. The Switch Trench in places was almost obliterated, and of the many dead and wounded in it a considerable tally was no doubt attributable to the shells from the New Zealand guns. One of the earlier German counter-attacks was stopped entirely by artillery fire.

A great success had been achieved, but the final objective of the Division had not yet been reached, and on the second day

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the fighting for some time became somewhat complicated and even confused. The Germans resisted stoutly, and their shelling caused many casualties in the Division. To describe it in detail would require a lengthy narrative. On the left, to the west of Flers, ran the Flers Trench, heavily wired, and the Flers Support Line. In front of them again, from a point opposite the middle of the village, ran Fort Trench joining on to Abbey Road, where there were German dug-outs. Just beyond Flers were two strong points, known as Box and Cox, and on the left of these were Grove Alley and Goose Alley, running forward in irregular lines at a right angle to the line of Abbey Road. Still farther ahead, and more to the left, was a strong point, known as Factory Corner, while in front of that point were the Grid Line, well wired, and the Grid Support Line. These trenches formed a salient, the apex of which was level, on the left, with the village of Gueudecourt, the houses of which could be seen, still undestroyed, amid their trees. In this region the New Zealanders—the 1st Infantry Brigade under Brig.-Gen. F. E. Johnston—for some time continued to fight desperately, often with heavy casualties, but at the same time inflicting still heavier losses on the Germans. On one occasion an adjoining Division put a barrage on a portion of a New Zealand trench, causing some casualties, and holding up the New Zealand attack. The 2nd Canterbury Battalion took Goose Alley with about 150 killed and wounded, but estimated that they killed 300 Germans.

It was in this action, on the night of the 20th–21st, that Captain Starnes of the 2nd Canterburys won for his splendid work an 'immediate D.S.O.', having been recommended for a V.C. After the trenches attacked had been captured heavy bombing ensued, and the battalion was twice driven back along the trench. The right flank was in the air and the troops on the left of the New Zealanders had fallen back. It was a moment when any temporary weakness might have led to unfortunate results. He reconnoitred the position and reported that it was not hopeless. He was ordered to take command and make a final effort to beat back the enemy. He rallied the tired men and led a third and final attack amidst a shower of enemy bombs. The Germans were swept back up their communication trench, and the situation was saved, blocks being made on both flanks. On the afternoon of the

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21st the enemy counter-attacked. The garrison was now greatly weakened, and the supply of bombs was running short. The Captain then took his men right into the open to bomb the enemy, and followed this up with a bayonet charge, which drove the Germans back with heavy losses. They left over a hundred dead behind them and also a machine gun.

For a time the big attack went rolling on, here swiftly with success, there more slowly in the face of strong opposition. Unfortunately at dawn on the 17th rain had begun to fall, and the whole aspect of the battle changed. The roads were impassable with pools and bogs, in which the limbered wagons stuck in mud to their axles.

In a prolonged battle there are times during which an Army Commander must have some misgivings as to whether Providence is on the side of the just cause. Such are the occasions when he has to fight the elements as well as the enemy, and now, as afterwards in the autumn of 1917, Sir Douglas Haig must have had some strain put upon his faith. After three days' incessant rain it required almost a superhuman effort to make further progress. The country roads, by way of which the Army had to be supplied, were almost obliterated, and tracks were taken across the pitted raw earth, where thousands of shells had wrought havoc, in order to avoid the sloughs where dead horses lay, and in which limbered wagons remained hopelessly derelict. The light chalky soil was still being churned by bombardment and by streams of traffic that hitherto had no parallel in peace or in war. Stone for metal was almost unprocurable, and in all the splintered woods about Montauban there were scarce enough twigs left to make a single fascine. Through all this time the German shells, with high explosive and gas, were raining down upon the ground that had been won. Men and horses were killed and wounded, and the bogged transport seemed to point to an inextricable tangle. But great as these difficulties were, by tireless effort they were overcome, though not without a heavy toll of casualties. A Second Lieutenant, afterwards the General's A.D.C., did splendid work in straightening out the tangled traffic and getting rations and equipment to the men in the front line through a barrage, often in the darkness; and one night, by request from a neighbouring Division, he fed some of their troops when they could not be reached by their own transport.

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For this the New Zealanders received the thanks of the English General.

Men of the 2nd Brigade who had gone into the trenches for 46 hours, and who had to stick it out for 76 hours before they could be relieved, had to endure terrible trials, which they bore with calm fortitude. The sticky Somme mud in their trenches was thigh deep in places. They had gone over in the pouring rain and were soaked to the skin. It took from twelve to fifteen minutes to walk a hundred yards, so tenacious was the mud. They had frequently to get their hands on to the side of a trench to lever their feet out of the thick clay, yet, under these conditions, parties of twelve and twenty went out in pitch darkness under shell-fire for rations to keep the life in themselves and their comrades. Rifles became clogged with mud, and there were occasions when not two in a score of them could be fired. Men lay down in the muddy trench to sleep when they could no longer stand up. In one section of a trench an Auckland Company 50 strong had but four petrol tins of water in the 76 hours, and there was such a taste of petrol with it that it was almost undrinkable. Right back to Flers there was heavy shelling. The Germans knew the track, and day and night their high explosive flashed along the trail. The conditions became almost indescribable, yet the men and their officers worked and fought with extraordinary endurance and heroism. When finally they got out they could scarce march another yard, and simply sank down on the soaked earth where there was no shelter.

Most trying was the work of the stretcher-bearers under such conditions. There was a big man in the 1st Brigade who had come from Tauranga with the twelfth reinforcements, and who, during a charge, was knocked over in front of the German wire. His weight was 13 stone 10 lb. For 48 hours he lay with a bone sticking through the flesh of his thigh, without food or drink, and with German shells bursting about him. His comrades went out and got him into a safer place. Then, with their heavy burden, they started off and never relaxed their efforts till they reached the dressing station. 'Thank God you have come,' he said when they found him, 'I never expected to see any one again.' Yet during all that terrible journey he never murmured. 'He was the gamest fellow I ever saw in all my life,' said one of his bearers. But that was

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typical of all the New Zealand wounded in this battle. They were absolute stoics. Some of the German prisoners, too, did good work in bringing in the wounded—ours and their own. Two Germans, who found a young New Zealand Captain lying wounded in a shell hole, put their coats over him, and tended him carefully. One finally took the risk of going towards our lines to tell the New Zealanders where their wounded officer was. Not knowing the errand on which he had come, one of our men shot him, but, fortunately, he was not killed, and was still able to give his message. The New Zealanders took him away, his wound was dressed, and he was very well looked after.

Men who had been in the trenches for 76 hours, tired and famished as they were, when their time came to be relieved, went out in the open under fire in search of any of their wounded comrades who might still be alive. Several were found and were carried in—a long tiring journey, enlivened only by bursts of German shelling. Frequently the bearers had to halt and lower their stretchers while they crouched in knee-deep mud to avoid the swishing shrapnel or the blast of some near-by explosion. Frequently the stretcher-bearers left the sodden communication trench altogether, and carried the wounded straight across open country, through a barrage of enemy shelling, to get the quicker to the dressing station. Looking back from Flers one saw them silhouetted against the sky-line on the ridge with shells falling about them. It was wonderful how fortunate they were.

On Sunday the 24th September the bombardment was resumed for a continuation of the attack by the Fourth Army on the following day. The New Zealanders were called upon to capture a road north-west of Grove Alley and Factory Corner, beyond the Flers Support Line, and that accomplished, to attack part of Goose Alley together with a section of a road crossing it at a right angle. After nightfall posts were pushed out on the rising ground ahead and a line consolidated there. It was a thrilling sight to see the battalions of the 1st Infantry Brigade at 12.35 p.m. go forward to gain their objective as steadily, almost, as if they were on parade. They met with no great opposition. In Goose Alley, when a unit on the left was being bombed back, the Otagos, under a lieutenant who acted with initiative and great bravery, succeeded in driving off the enemy.

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Ahead of these captured positions was the Grid Line. On the 27th the New Zealanders had to storm about a thousand yards of these trenches in which the enemy continued to bar progress on the left of Gueudecourt. Again the men of the 1st Brigade went forward behind the barrage, steadily, with heads erect. The movement was somewhat complicated, because, owing to a bend in the line, the attacking troops could not start parallel with their objective. There was stiff fighting to gain the positions sought. The left company of the 1st Auckland Battalion got caught in the German wire and suffered heavy casualties from shell and machine-gun fire. They fought heroically. One man rushed into the open in face of all the fire and, throwing bombs into the enemy trench, saved what might have been a very critical situation. Men went through heavy fire, both ways, in order to bring grenades up to the line, and one man in the 1st Canterbury Battalion, though twice buried by the explosions of German shells, stuck to his post until the trouble was over. A Lewis gunner, with the remnant of his section, pushed right up to the German wire and brought his gun to bear on the enemy, an action which helped greatly to break the resistance at that point. Many such gallant deeds were performed. When the Aucklanders were first held up in front of this uncut wire—it was in a hollow and had been missed by the artillery—both officers and men began to fall, but, through their lines of dead and wounded, other waves went unfalteringly forward. For some time the situation remained obscure, but the position was eventually cleared up and the gains held. On the night of the 28th–29th the Brigade, in which the casualties had mounted up, was relieved.

Nothing of moment now happened till the 1st of October, except that our troops had to stand heavy enemy shelling. On that day there was a terrific bombardment of the enemy's positions, a bombardment that reached hurricane force as the hour for attack approached. In conjunction with English troops on their left the New Zealanders were to capture a series of trenches from a point on the Grid Line westward to a strong point known as The Circus. The field guns and the howitzers of three British Divisions were playing on one section of the German trenches with an intensity that was appalling, while the heavies were turned on to strong points farther back. It

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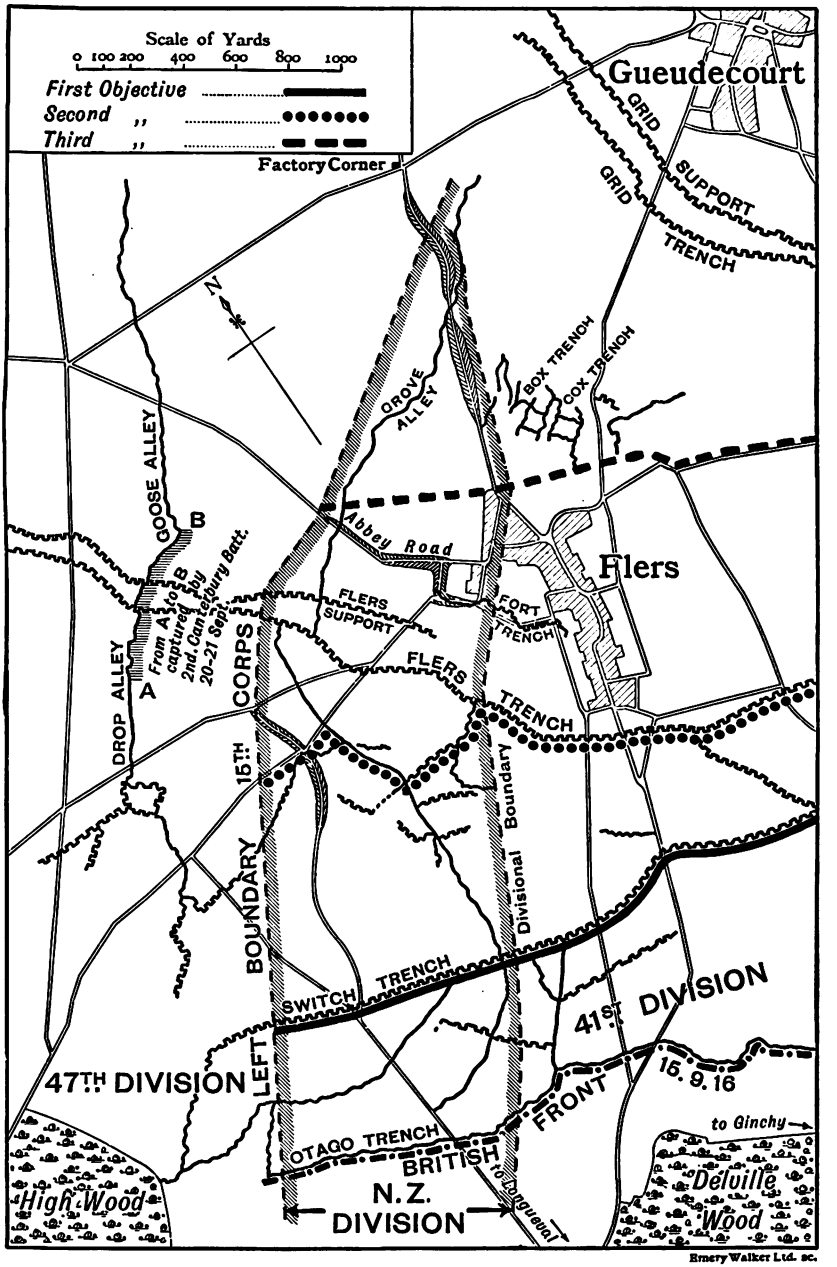

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was a clear calm autumn afternoon, and the great curve of the German position became one wonderful curtain of straight ascending smoke and dust. Through this screen of battle-smoke could be seen the village of Gueudecourt and the still green woods in the enemy hinterland. Under the intense barrage the attacking battalions advanced with heads erect and rifles at the slope. The New Zealand 2nd Brigade attacked on a front of 1,800 yards, taking a portion of the line and penetrating to a depth of 800 yards, killing, wounding, and capturing considerable numbers of the enemy. The enemy replied with high explosive and shrapnel, mingled with tear-gas shells, but he failed to stay the advance. Our stretcher-bearers, scorning the shelter of the communication trenches, went boldly across the open, because that way was shorter, and their mission urgent. Some of the infantry in their keenness got beyond their objective and into their own barrage, but the remnants came back and helped their comrades to establish the advanced line they had gained. It was largely as the result of the New Zealanders' attack that the important tactical point of Eaucourt-l'Abbaye was secured.

During these terrible days a non-commissioned officer won the New Zealanders' second V.C. Strangely enough the details of his heroic conduct were not known till long after the battle in which he was killed in action, and then only through a reference in a letter received from New Zealand. Sergeant Donald Forrester Brown belonged to the 10th North Otago Company which came out of the Somme fighting without a single officer and but 49 other ranks. After all the officers had been killed or wounded on the 15th of September the command passed to Sergeant Rogers. He and Brown charged and captured a machine gun that was holding up the advance. They killed the crew. Later in the day the Company was again held up by a second gun, and Brown, after bayoneting several Germans in the trench, single-handed, rushed the gun and put the whole crew out of action. What remained of his Company had to stand to throughout the afternoon under an intense enemy bombardment, during which Brown continued to display undaunted spirit and great bravery. He cheerfully encouraged his men to stick it out, and himself showed the greatest contempt of danger. In the attack on the Circus Trench on the 1st October he was again in the thick of the

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fighting, brave as ever. Single-handed, once more, he attacked an enemy machine gun and succeeded in killing all the crew and capturing the gun. Advancing in the van of the battle he began to snipe at the now retreating enemy, and some 50 yards in front of the gun he had captured he was killed.

With the attack of the 1st October the fighting of the New Zealand Division in the Somme battles came to an end. They had had their full share of the 'Blood Bath' of the Somme. Tired, tattered, and bedraggled they came out. Their ranks were sadly thinned, and many a man had left a friend or a relative under the cold clay of Santerre—the bloody land. But they had contributed substantially to the very real success which was being achieved, their spirit remained unbroken, and in the troop trains, along the roads by which they came, they went back—singing!

The Division had suffered severe casualties, the total in killed and wounded from the 1st September to the 7th October being 6,829. Of the officers 59 were killed, 198 wounded, and 3 missing. The 2nd Canterbury Battalion had no fewer than 13 of its officers killed and 15 wounded, while one was missing. Of other ranks in the Division over a thousand were killed, 4,745 wounded, and 709 missing. The casualties in the Brigades were—1st Infantry Brigade, 1,969; 2nd Infantry Brigade, 2,112; New Zealand Rifle Brigade, 2,119. The Signal Company had 19 casualties, the Engineers 100, the Divisional Artillery 278, the Pioneer Battalion 149, and the New Zealand Medical Corps 83. Four of the Medical Officers were wounded, and two (Major A. A. Martin, one of New Zealand's best surgeons, and Captain Bogle) were killed.

On the 4th October, when the New Zealand Division was relieved, the following telegram was sent by the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Douglas Haig, to the Government of New Zealand:

'The New Zealand Division has fought with greatest gallantry in the Somme Battle for 23 consecutive days, carrying out with complete success every task set and always doing more than was asked of it. The Division has won universal confidence and admiration. No praise can be too high for such troops.'

Sir Henry Rawlinson, Commander of the Fourth Army, added his own congratulations. In a letter dated the 7th October, addressed to the Division, he stated that on the 15th and

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25th September and 1st October the Division attacked with the greatest gallantry and vigour, capturing in each attack every objective that had been allotted to it. 'More than this,' he added, 'they gained possession of, and held, several strong points in advance of and beyond the farthest objectives that had been allotted to them. The endurance and fine fighting spirit of the Division have been beyond praise, and their success in the Flers neighbourhood will rank high amongst the best achievements of the British Army. The control and direction of the Division during these operations have been conducted with skill and precision, whilst the Artillery support in establishing the barrages and defeating counter-attacks has been in every way most effective. It is a matter of regret that this fine Division is leaving the Fourth Army, and I trust that on some future occasion it may be my good fortune to find them under my command.'

From the middle of October 1916 to the end of February 1917 the New Zealand Division was in the trenches near Armentières. It was a time of constant patrol work and effective harassing of the enemy, and also of reorganization. The artillery of the Division was reorganized by adopting 6-gun batteries in lieu of 4 guns, and at the same time reducing the artillery brigades from 4 to 3, of which the third was placed at the disposal of the Army Commander and known as an 'Army' brigade. The object of this change, which was not confined to the New Zealanders, was to facilitate concentration of Field Artillery for special emergencies without detaching for that purpose the artillery belonging to each division. In the New Zealand Division the 1st and 2nd Infantry Brigades were also reorganized so as to gather the four North Island battalions in the 1st, and the South Island battalions in the 2nd Brigade. At the end of February the Division was shifted northwards into Flanders, north of the Lys, and eventually stationed astride the Douve river, a small tributary of the Lys, immediately facing Messines. Here it remained for three months, preparing for the attack on Messines, and hence it had no share in the heavy fighting round Arras in April and May. That fighting was intended to be a preliminary to a still greater offensive by the Second Army in Flanders, designed to drive the enemy back and oust him from his positions on the coast. The first stage was to be the capture of the Messines Ridge,

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and it fell to the lot of the New Zealand Division to attack the actual village of Messines. The Division had been strengthened at the end of May by the arrival from England of a fourth brigade, drawn from surplus reinforcements.

The enemy, realizing that another attack was imminent, began to strengthen his defences along the Messines–Wytschaete Ridge. The railway line from Lille to Comines was reported, towards the end of May 1917, to have been doubled. The road from Lille to Tournai had been widened, and much defensive work was being done close to the front line. Our own preparations were on a vast scale. New guns began to arrive, and planes multiplied in the air. Great dumps of ammunition appeared at the rail-heads, and lesser dumps in forward positions. Then followed great bombardments, and the enemy, who had massed his guns in view of the coming attack, began to reply furiously. Some of our dumps went off in spectacular explosions that shook houses miles away. The German lines were going up in smoke and dust. By night the sky was radiant with the flashing of the guns and the bursting of the shells. There were whispers of 'X' and 'Y' and 'Z' days, and of 'zero', that mystery of the minute at which the actual attack is to begin, and which is a guarded secret till the very eve of battle, so that by no chance shall the enemy know of it beforehand. As one bombardment succeeded another at uncertain intervals, there prevailed that tense feeling of expectancy and subdued excitement that precedes a great battle. Soldiers of different Divisions marched towards the front with bands playing, or singing as they went. The New Zealand Division was again at its best. The morale of the men was never higher, and already they considered themselves in Messines, for by this time they knew that the honour of taking this strong and dominating position had been allotted to them.

A frequent visitor at the New Zealand Head-quarters on the eve of this battle was General Harington, of the Second Army, a quiet and unassuming soldier with a genius for organization. He had worked out the detail for this attack by the Second Army in a masterly manner, and had kept in close touch with the Divisions concerned in it. Strong as was the position held by the enemy, no one who knew the details of the British preparations had any doubt of success.

One great advantage of the enemy position was the excellent

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observation it gave him. He had appointed a special commander who was made responsible for the inner defences of Messines, the importance of which, as the southern corner of the Wytschaete salient, was fully realized by the German command. The New Zealand line was in the hollow between Hill 63 and the Messines Ridge, in front of a little, sluggish stream, the Steenebeek, and about 400 yards from the German front line on the slope below the town. The outer defences of Messines consisted of an elaborate system of trenches, the most important of which were Oyster Reserve and Ulcer Reserve, the latter going right round the town on the south or right and behind till it joined up with Oxonian Trench on the left. In front of these trenches were barbed wire entanglements. Even the trenches behind the town were wired on the outward side, in case our forces might succeed in flanking movements and attempt to get in by the back door. The inner defences were based on five concrete works commanding the lines of the main streets. In the event of our penetrating the outer defences of the town, the town itself was to be defended by sectors, the main defence being concentrated about five concrete dug-outs connected by a series of obstacles. These were to be defended to the last, even to the recapture of the town, should we have gained an entrance into it. In the northern part of the town a company was held in reserve in cellars facing the square, and there were platoons in strong dug-outs. Even the cook-houses for the companies in reserve, and in Messines, were underground. Under the Institution Royale, the most prominent of the shattered buildings on the ridge, were deep cellars and dug-outs to protect men from our shelling. The dug-outs were in the form of long timbered tunnels, fitted with bunks, and 20 feet below the ground. The German pioneers were still working at them after our preparations were well advanced. Some of the cellars were strengthened with reinforced concrete. There was even a canteen in a cellar under the Institution Royale. Elaborate arrangements and stringent orders were issued to prevent the attack which was anticipated. 'The enemy must not get the Messines Ridge at any price,' ran one order, captured the day before the battle. 'If,' said another order,

'the enemy has pushed forward so far that no hope is left of holding out, then the last hand grenade must be used for the

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destruction of the machine-gun. Then the gun team must take their revolvers and do their best. It is the duty of every man to see that the machine-gun does not fall into the hands of the enemy.'

It will be recognized that the task set the New Zealanders was one worthy of the prowess they had already displayed in the Battle of the Somme. In due course the artillery which had been massed behind our lines began to batter down these defences. The New Zealand artillery did its full share of this work, and the trench mortars, the personnel of which was of a high order, and which in one day fired over two thousand rounds—probably a record for any Division—did some magnificent shooting. Behind were the heavies, the great 'crumps' from which added to the general destruction of the defences and the terror of the enemy. The guns shot practice barrages, enemy roads and tracks were kept under fire at night, and hostile batteries were engaged. The enemy went on digging new trenches and putting up more wire, much of which was shot away as soon as it was put up. Gas shells were used by the British on particular localities. Gas and tear shells, shrapnel and high explosive, came back in retaliation, but always our guns played the dominant role, and on days when calm prevailed, one watched the smoke of battle rising two and three thousand feet in air. Dumps went up in flame and smoke on either side, affording thrilling spectacles.

The attack of the New Zealand Division was divided into three phases. The first was the attack on what was marked on the map as the Yellow Line, which ran in an irregular semicircle beyond the town and extended somewhat to the right. This was allotted to the Rifle Brigade (Brig.-Gen. Fulton) and the 2nd Infantry Brigade (Brig.-Gen. Braithwaite), attacking side by side. The second phase included the attack and capture of the Black Line and its consolidation by the attacking force. This was a line about 600 yards beyond the centre of the town, and extending considerably to the right and left. The third phase provided for the establishment of strong posts on the general line of the Black Dotted Line, which switched off from the Black Line opposite the right of Messines at a narrow angle, but made a gradually widening area that eventually reached a depth of 1,000 yards at the point where it joined the flank of the 25th Division

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attacking on the left flank. Both the second and third phases were to be carried out by the 1st Infantry Brigade (Brig.-Gen. Brown), to which also was allotted the capture of enemy guns. In addition to medium and heavy howitzers, the Division had supporting it 114 eighteen-pounder guns and 36 4·5 in. howitzers. There was no creeping barrage to take the attacking troops across No Man's Land, but thereafter there was an elaborate system of creeping and standing barrages, so that the whole area over which the infantry had to pass was kept under fire till the last minute. In addition the machine guns provided, in certain areas, creeping and protective barrages.

The attack was timed for 3.10 a.m. on the 7th June. The weather had remained fine, and the assembly of the attacking troops was completed without serious mishap. Many had been hidden away in great caverns dug in the wood on the reverse slopes of Hill 63. On the eve of the battle the enemy began to shell our back areas and communications, mixing his high explosive with gas shells of two kinds. As night advanced the British shelling died down, and the guns were firing in a desultory way, the intention being to deceive the enemy and make him think that there was no prospect of an immediate attack. But in the trenches over the crest of the ridge the first waves of the New Zealand Division were already quietly awaiting the opening of the battle. At midnight many of the men were snatching a little sleep, and there were recumbent forms all along the assembly trenches, so that one had to walk carefully; but at 2 a.m. they were awakened by the non-commissioned officers for a meal of savoury stew, biscuits, and tea.

At ten minutes past three the first gun of a thunderous barrage spoke, and immediately there was a roar from the throats of hundreds of cannon of all calibres. There could be no mistaking the serious import of this great cannonade, and almost immediately the coloured lights of the German S.O.S. went up all along the line. As the bombardment opened, there was another and a startling development—a gigantic upheaval of the earth such as had never before occurred by means of human agency. It was the fruition of months of laborious work by the Engineers and Tunnellers, for at last the series of mines that had been laid in various places under the German front line was fired. Great bursts of lurid red flame

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flashed from the midst of dense columns of smoke and shattered earth that rose high above the trenches. A dull roar smote the ear, and the ground trembled and then rocked as if stricken with the waves of an earthquake. The noise, the splashes of red flame, and the vast columns of smoke and dust that shot heavenward, seemed like a night eruption from a volcano.

The firing of the mines was the signal for the infantry attack. In the gloom before dawn, amid the ceaseless roar of the drum fire of two contending armies, the continuous crackle of rifles and machine guns, and the dull explosions of bombs, the New Zealanders advanced to the attack, deliberate in their stride, calm and confident in their demeanour. The S.O.S. had been the signal for the German batteries to open on our trenches and communications, and it was not long before some wounded began to dribble back. For the most part they were quite cheery, but some, who had been stricken by the deadly poison gas, staggered back up the communication trench leaning on comrades, and very sick. As dawn came slowly through the smoke of battle it was seen that the whole ridge was being whipped with a hail of shot and shell. Gradually it became a blurred outline, and then vanished in the cloud of smoke and dust that filled the air, a cloud lit almost every second by the flashes of bursting shells and of enemy signal lights asking for aid.

The leading lines of the 2nd and Rifle Brigades had left their assembly trenches on the tick of the zero minute, and were now advancing beyond the Steenebeek in front of the first German trench. Tanks were supporting them, but their assistance was not required. The New Zealanders were soon into and over the first trench, leaving behind them mopping-up parties to deal with the prisoners or any refractory Germans who might be still alive. On the left were Southland and Otago men who fought with the grim determination of their Scottish ancestors. Next them were men of English origin from Canterbury, and then two battalions of the New Zealand Rifle Brigade, recruited from all parts of the Dominion. La Petite Douve Farm, a strong point in the German front line, was taken by a separate party of the Rifles. On the New Zealand left the backward bend of the line made it necessary to have a 'Refused Flank', so that here the New Zealand advance had to go slower to enable the troops of the flank

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Division, who had farther to go, to get level with them. But the detail of the whole plan worked almost with machine-like exactitude, and having overcome the preliminary obstacles, the New Zealanders were soon in Messines itself, at grips with its garrison.

During the advance Lance-Corporal Samuel Frickleton won the V.C. for conspicuous bravery. When the attacking troops were checked by heavy fire, Frickleton, although slightly wounded, dashed forward at the head of his section, pushed into the barrage, and personally destroyed with bombs an enemy machine gun and crew, causing heavy losses. He then attacked a second gun, killing the whole of the crew of twelve. By the destruction of these two guns he saved his own and other units from very severe casualties, and his magnificent courage and gallantry ensured the capture of the objective. During the consolidation of the position he received a second severe wound. He set, throughout, a great example of heroism.

When dawn broke, the tanks, like prehistoric monsters, could be seen crawling up the hill-side with grim deliberation, spitting fire as they crossed a trench or approached a strong point. One was broken down in a shell hole. In strange contrast to these latest lumbering engines of war were our planes. Into and out of the dull grey east, now tinted with amber and gold, they went and came, wonderful in number and in audacity. They flew low along the German trenches, firing their machine guns at the now demoralized enemy. They swooped down on the retreating transport and took toll of men and horses. After doing all this and more, a boy of nineteen, shot through the thigh, steered his machine back out of the inferno only to hit some field telegraph wires and topple over in a forced landing. But he calmly lit a cigarette and chatted cheerily as they carried him down to one of our dressing stations.

The attack by the Rifle Brigade and the 2nd Brigade could not have gone better. By 6 a.m. it was reported that the 4th Battalion of the former had cleared Messines south of the church. At 5 a.m. there had been heavy fighting in Messines Square, and the enemy, evidently realizing that the town was already lost to him, had begun to shell it. The 2nd Brigade sent three companies to clear out those of the enemy who still remained there, and at 6.20 a.m. reported that the greater part of the town in their area had been cleared, but that near the

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church two hostile machine guns were still in action. This Brigade had taken already 120 prisoners and had only 40 casualties. A group of our machine guns had moved forward to the Messines Ridge. By 7 a.m. the whole of Messines was in our hands, not won without sacrifice, and, as in the Somme battle, many deeds of heroism. One section of the Riflemen even went on through our own barrage into Messines—a daring exploit—to silence machine guns that were causing casualties in the attacking ranks. A corporal with one of his men went forward and killed the crews of two guns, 14 men in all, and when an enemy machine gun opened on them from the ruins of an inner wall of the Institution Royale, the Rifleman ran up in the face of the firing and killed the gunner. In the cellar of the Institution Royale a strong party of the enemy were making a last stand. They were attacked by a corporal and four men. Though three of the men were wounded they fought against odds till they killed 20 of the Germans and drove the rest from the position.

To the 1st Brigade was allotted the task of going on to the New Zealanders' farthest objective beyond the town. Close upon the heels of the leading waves, through whom they eventually passed, they went forward, avoiding Messines itself. By 5.25 a.m. they had captured all their objectives and were engaged in the work of consolidating the position gained. On the way they captured two 77 mm. guns, killing and capturing the greater number of their crews in spite of covering fire from a machine gun which was also captured. North-east of Messines the Wellington Battalion had some sharp fighting, as the result of which they captured 3 machine guns and 27 prisoners. In all, the Wellington men captured 7 machine guns and 227 prisoners, including 5 officers.

Thus, quite early in the day, the New Zealanders had gained all their objectives, and the cost had not been great. But as the days passed, among the troops engaged in consolidating their positions the casualties from shelling became considerable. Next morning Brig.-Gen. Brown, D.S.O., N.Z.S.C., was killed. In company with General Russell and two other officers, he was making an inspection of the forward position when a shell burst over the party, killing him instantly, and wounding Lieutenant Beetham, the General's A.D.C. General Russell, who throughout the war seemed to have a charmed life, had

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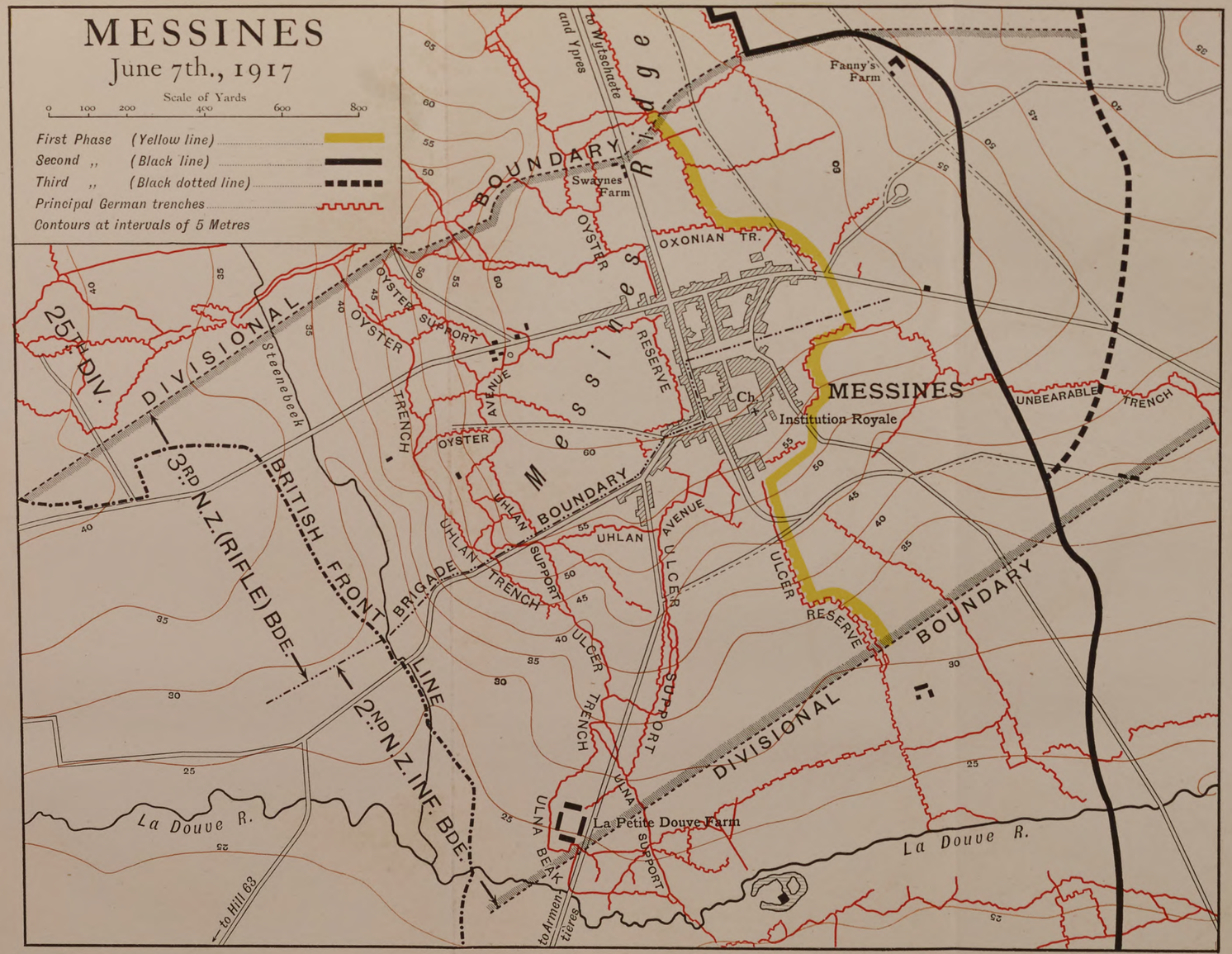
MESSINES
June 7th., 1917

Scale of Yards
0 100 200 400 600 800

First Phase (Yellow line)
Second ,, (Black line)
Third ,, (Black dotted line)
Principal German trenches
Contours at intervals of 5 Metres



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a miraculous escape. A quiet unobtrusive man, thoughtful and painstaking, Brig.-Gen. Brown had won the respect and affection of all who had dealings with him. Just after the capture of Messines he had gone out beyond the town, and in the face of heavy enemy shelling had walked along his front line to see that everything was right. He was buried in the cemetery at Bailleul, the body being borne to the grave by a Brigadier and five Colonels of the New Zealand Division, while one of the bands played the 'Dead March in Saul'. It was a beautiful summer day, and the fields were gay with wild flowers, but in the distance the guns still boomed, and the droning battle planes flew overhead. Beside the grave, bare-headed, stood the General's two young sons. Not in all the war, perhaps, had such a burial taken place. Here were two young New Zealanders who had come thousands of miles at the call of duty burying their own father within sound of the guns in the battle in which all three had fought.

A day or two after Brig.-Gen. Brown was killed General Russell had another very narrow escape. While out at the front ascertaining for himself, as was ever his wont, the actual position of his troops, he was fired at by a German sniper, the bullet going through his steel helmet from front to back and grazing his skull.

After the actual battle had been won, some half-hearted enemy counter-attacks were beaten off. These were followed by heavy shelling from both sides, and this continued for some days, the enemy shelling causing casualties in the New Zealand infantry and in practically all the services. On the 10th June the Division, with the exception of the 4th Brigade, was out of the line, and head-quarters were established at Bailleul.

The casualties in the Messines battle were 3,633. Seventeen officers and 456 other ranks were killed, 118 officers and 2,608 other ranks wounded, and there were 434 missing, nearly all of them probably killed.

Excellent work was done in all the services in this battle, and the arrangements for the evacuation and treatment of the wounded, carried out under the direct supervision of the A.D.M.S., Colonel McGavin, who had taken the place of Colonel Begg, promoted to D.M.S., of the XXIInd Corps in October 1916, were especially noteworthy.

New Zealand had been sending to England more than

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adequate reinforcements to maintain the Division at its fighting strength, and, notwithstanding the heavy losses on the Somme, it was found possible, as has been already mentioned, for a 4th Brigade to take the field under command of Brig.-Gen. Hart, D.S.O. This Brigade, during the time it remained in existence, acquitted itself in a manner worthy of the traditions already established by the other Brigades. During the Messines battle it did excellent work in the repair and construction of roads that were continually under fire. On the 10th June it was in the front line on the River Lys, and, until the end of August, with occasional reliefs, it successfully carried out minor operations, its daring patrol work being responsible for the securing of the western side of the Lys on the Brigade frontage.

The other brigades of the Division had but a short rest. Hardly a month had passed before, in July, they were again at the front, holding the old British line just outside the area of the Messines battle between the Lys and the Douve, in front of Ploegsteert Wood. Here the result of the Messines attack had been to leave the Germans in a pronounced salient with their backs to the Lys, and the Corps Commander, General Godley, was anxious to exploit the success at Messines by driving the enemy out of this section. The Division thus became involved in some very sharp fighting, which proved a severe test of the discipline and endurance of troops, far from fresh when they entered into it. But the New Zealanders were equal to the calls made on them and achieved some notable successes. They were holding the same section when, on the 31st July, the main offensive east of Ypres began. In this offensive they were called upon to co-operate by attacking the remaining German positions between the Douve and the Lys round La Basseville. This village, taken by the 2nd Wellingtons on the 27th July but lost to a strong German counter-attack, was finally secured by the same battalion on the 31st July by a really brilliant minor operation, in the course of which Lce-Cpl. L. W. Andrew, of the Wellington Infantry Battalion, added another V.C. to the New Zealand list of honours won in battle by conspicuous bravery when in charge of a small party in an attack on the enemy's position. His objective was a machine-gun post which had been located in an isolated building. On leading his men forward, he encountered

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NEW ZEALAND TROOPS CROSSING THE YPRES CANAL

on their way to the firing line

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unexpectedly a machine-gun post which was holding up the advance of another company. He immediately attacked, capturing the machine gun and killing several of the crew. He then continued the attack on the machine-gun post which had been his original objective. He displayed great skill and determination in his dispositions, finally capturing the post, killing several of the enemy, and putting the remainder to flight.

For the greater part of August the Division remained in this quarter, suffering considerably both from the enemy's artillery fire and from sickness due to water-logged trenches and to the continuous wet weather, which so adversely affected the development of the Ypres offensive. From these causes, and also because the majority of our planes had gone elsewhere, the German flyers had gained a temporary ascendancy in this sector, the New Zealanders, early in August, were losing, through casualties and sickness, at the rate of 100 men a day.

During this period Brig.-Gen. F. E. Johnston, who was commanding the Rifle Brigade after having been for some time in command of the Infantry Reserve Group in England, was killed near Warneton by an enemy sniper's bullet. He was a brave soldier, who had fought gallantly both at Gallipoli and on the Western Front. He was buried beside Brig.-Gen. Brown in the cemetery at Bailleul.

Towards the end of August 1917 the Division was relieved from the line and went into one of the back areas to fill up the blanks in its battalions and to train for new battles. The peaceful country scenes seemed a long way from war, and often Pakeha and Maori might be seen helping the French farmers to get in their crops. But this peaceful time was only the prelude to fighting almost heavier and difficulties almost greater than the Division had experienced even on the Somme. It was now to be called upon to take its turn in the desperate struggle for the ridges east of Ypres, in which it had already co-operated from a distance by its attack on La Basseville, and which had been continuous ever since, varying in intensity in inverse proportion to the heaviness of an almost unprecedented rainfall. In this water-logged and shell-torn area, at this time of year, it became not only a question of fighting the enemy and all his machinery, but also that 'fifth element in war', mud, which in former times had sealed the fate of other armies

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in Flanders. Towards the end of September the rains had sufficiently abated to allow of substantial progress. Polygon Wood had been cleared and a firm foothold had been gained on the main ridge. The next task which lay before the Second Army was to carry the Broodseinde portion of the main ridge and the Gravenstafel Spur, which jutted out north-west from near Zonnebeke. This high ground which the New Zealanders were to attack corresponded roughly to the line where the Canadians had received their terrible baptism of fire and gas in April 1915. Early in October the New Zealanders found themselves marching through ruined Ypres into the salient in which so many of the best manhood of the Empire had already found a grave and in which so many more were yet to be buried. The Second Anzac Corps was to take part in the attack with two Divisions—disposed side by side—the 3rd Australian Division on the right and the New Zealand Division between it and the 48th Division of the VIIIth Corps on the left. Again the roads were crammed, and march and counter-march of regiments went on from daylight till dark, bands playing the old tunes, and kilted pipers the lilts and marches that for generations had carried Scotsmen into the forefront of battle all the world over. The New Zealanders, too, had their bands and their pipers, and proudly they played. The weather was fine, for we were having an Indian, or, as the French say St. Martin's, summer, and for the next phase of the battle, in which the New Zealanders had to gain the Grafenstafel Ridge, it remained fine. Our attack was timed for 6 a.m. on the 4th of October on a frontage of 2,000 yards and with a depth of 1,200 yards. The first objective included trench elements and fortified farms. The second included the Grafenstafel village, with Berlin Wood on the right and Kronprinz Farm on the left. The whole of this part of the German front was studded with the well-known 'pill-boxes'—rounded forts of ferro-concrete, half or more of which was below the level of the ground. The dominating feature of all this country was the Passchendaele Ridge, running in a north-easterly direction and rising to heights of 215 feet above sea-level. From this the Grafenstafel Ridge jutted out like a tapering peninsula, with Abraham Heights 126 feet above sea-level. As we were already on ground 82 feet above the sea, there was a height of only 44 feet to be climbed, and the slope was so gradual that

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it scarcely seemed a ridge at all. Here there were no heights such as frowned down upon us on Gallipoli, though, in these low lands, the heights had a relative importance. The higher ground gave the enemy a tremendous advantage. A Prussian Division that had come down from the Russian front had just relieved the Bavarians who had been holding the line at this point. The 4th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. Hart) were on the right, the 1st Brigade (Brig.-Gen. Melvill) on the left, each on a two-battalion frontage, and when the first objective was taken the remaining battalions were to 'leap-frog' them on that line, and go on to the next objective. The Second Infantry Brigade was in Divisional Reserve. The New Zealand Field Artillery formed part of the artillery group covering the attack. Exclusive of heavy guns and heavy and medium howitzers, barraging machine guns together with 180 18-pounders and 60 4·5 in. howitzers were in action. There were the usual standing and creeping barrages, the latter going forward in lifts of 50 yards every two minutes, later slowing down to the same lifts every three minutes. The attack was further protected by a screen from bursting smoke shells.

A light rain began to fall at 3 a.m., and when, in the early dawn, the battalions advanced behind the barrage, there was still a haze and a slight drizzle. The first obstacle was the water-logged Hannebeek, no longer a stream, but simply a series of shell holes brim-full of muddy water. In the uncertain light the men tumbled into these holes, but they helped each other out, and for the most part managed to keep up with the barrage. Farther on there were more serious obstacles in the shape of machine guns that fired from 'pill-boxes' and from strong points in ruined farms, but the New Zealanders knew how to deal with them. The attack went well from the start, and both objectives were attained, together with 1,159 prisoners and 30 machine guns. In addition, there were many German dead. Our own casualties were estimated at about 2,000. The enemy infantry and artillery appeared to have been seriously disorganized by the very heavy fire from the British artillery, and no serious counter-attack was attempted. This was the first battle in which the 4th Brigade had taken part, and it acquitted itself with credit. The 4th of October was a markedly good day not only for the New Zealand Division but also for the troops on either flank. Substantial progress had been

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made and the German casualties had been exceptionally high, inasmuch as their lines were crowded for a counter-attack at the moment when our barrage came down upon them. A sweeping success seemed to be promised by immediately following up the advance, but the rain came down again and the chance was lost.

Next morning the battlefield was a scene of tremendous energy struggling in a vast desolation: men were busy mending the shell-torn muddy roads, making tracks and tramways, and getting up supplies. The Engineers and Pioneers took on a task that would have appalled any ordinary labourers even in times of peace, when it would have been unaccompanied by high explosive and poison gas shelling.

On this day orders were issued for a quick relief of the New Zealand Division, which went back into the Winnezeele and Ypres north areas, but remained in readiness for further fighting. On the 9th the 49th and 66th Divisions renewed the attack, but the bad weather made it a failure, and only on the left was any real progress achieved. The New Zealand Division had therefore to be brought back into the line on the 10th, to attack again from a position which was practically the same as had been reached on the 4th. The situation was so obscure that it was impossible for the Division to get out the necessary orders and barrages for their part in the battle two days later. In the afternoon their objectives were altered. Later—during the afternoon of the 10th—the objective map was received and orders made out in accordance therewith. Until 3 p.m. no definite information was forthcoming that would enable the Division to decide what would be the line from which their attack on the 12th would start.

The weather continued wet, and the forward area was rapidly being converted into one great morass. It seemed at the time and on the spot that the troops of all Divisions were being asked to attempt the impossible, and that some of the finest units on the British front were being needlessly sacrificed. The 2nd New Zealand Infantry Brigade (Brig.-Gen. Braithwaite) and the New Zealand Rifle Brigade (Brig.-Gen. H. E. Stewart), the latter somewhat worn out with a hard spell of cable burying for another unit, moved up to the front along two single duck-boarded tracks, in pitch darkness, with enemy shells every now and then bursting in the area. Down these

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same narrow tracks stretcher-bearers were coming with the backwash of the fight in which the English Divisions had been engaged. The New Zealanders took over from the 146th and the 148th Brigades of the 49th Division, the 2nd New Zealand Brigade on the right and the Rifle Brigade on the left, each brigade being on a one-battalion frontage and distributed in depth. Long lines of white tape were laid across the shell-torn land to mark the points of assembly for the assaulting troops. The assembly was completed by 5 a.m., 25 minutes before the attack was to commence. At 2 a.m. drizzling rain had begun to fall, making the ground soft and slippery, and the men wet and cold, for with the rain a bitter wind was sweeping down over the Passchendaele Ridge into the hollow where the Ravebeek stream had been converted into an uncertain line of ooze and water-logged shell-holes. British dead lay in strange attitudes in and about shell-holes, in which the sufferings of some of their wounded had evidently been ended mercifully by drowning. Other wounded were still lying out, suffering agony in that cold and cheerless Slough of Despond. All through the long night New Zealand stretcher-bearers had been helping their British comrades to bring in this human wreckage. The New Zealand Rifle Brigade found itself short of bombs, and the final instructions had to be passed along the line by word of mouth.

In the cheerless dawn of the 12th of October, behind an altogether inadequate barrage, the troops advanced. Owing to the terrible condition of the roads many of the guns were unable to get up. The artillery had made almost superhuman efforts, but the guns sank in the mud, and in places the plucky mule teams floundered hopelessly. Many of the guns that did get up had not enough ammunition. As the men advanced the barrage became weak and patchy. In places it could not be seen at all. Soon the German machine guns, from strong ' pill-boxes ' at Crest Farm, Bellevue Spur, and Source Trench, sent streams of lead into the advancing waves, while simultaneously the German barrage came down on the line of Waterloo Farm and the eastern slopes of Abraham Heights. In about half an hour the enemy machine-gun fire had become so deadly that any further combined advance was impossible ; but individuals and small bands still pushed on, only to be caught in the barbed wire entanglements, and for the most

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part killed or wounded. It was a forlorn and hopeless task. By 10 a.m. both brigades, after suffering terrible casualties, were finally held up. They began to dig in, and, for the honour of the Division, to hold the little bit of ground they had gained.

The wire which the New Zealanders came up against was the low picket wire (2 ft. 6 in. high, and varying from 20 to 40 ft. in depth) of the old Staden–Zonnebeek line, which had been repaired and was still formidable. There was also new wire. The presence of this wire was unknown to the Division till it was discovered by one of its own patrols, too late to have it dealt with by artillery fire.

On the New Zealand left the famous 9th Scottish Division had also been brought to a standstill after an advance of a few hundred yards, and were busily digging in in the hope of holding their gains, while on the right the gallant Australians, who had made some material advance, had now to fall back, sniped at by German machine gunners and riflemen as they floundered through the watery shell-holed waste. The German troops had fought with great determination and bravery, some of them sniping from little platforms in trees, but mostly they were in strong positions in their 'pill-boxes', and in trenches that easily commanded the advance of the British, especially in view of the inadequate artillery support.

At the outset of the attack Lieut.-Col. G. A. King, D.S.O., of the 1st Canterbury Regiment, was killed by a shell. The Battalion Signalling Sergeant went forward and found a Captain who came back and took command. The Captain, in the meantime, had himself been wounded. The Sergeant, under heavy fire, then went right across the Battalion front to find another Captain, the next senior officer available. He found this officer also wounded. The sergeant then returned to Battalion Head-quarters, only to find that all the remaining officers had also become casualties. He then went off in search of a lieutenant. The ground was being swept with machine-gun and rifle fire, and every one had taken what cover was available, but this sergeant went boldly across the open looking for the lieutenant, and encouraging and helping the men with whom he came into touch. The lieutenant was found after an hour's search. He was guided down to head-quarters and took command of the battalion. The sergeant then went off to take

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command of his signallers, and remained with them till the relief came.

In front of the Ravebeek were two 'pill-boxes', and an Otago platoon, swinging round to fill a gap, found itself under their fire as well as under fire from a trench hard by. The 2nd Lieutenant in command, A. R. Cockerell, led his men to the trench, and taking the Germans who were in it prisoners, sent them to the rear. The Germans in the 'pill-boxes' fought on, and the Otago platoon was being slowly but surely reduced in numbers by the enemy fire. Holding the attention of the garrisons with a frontal attack by one Lewis gunner, he and the few now remaining in the platoon worked round the flanks, all the time under fire, and captured both 'pill-boxes' with 80 prisoners. By this time there was only the young lieutenant and his batman left. The lieutenant acted as garrison of one of the 'pill-boxes' and sent his batman back to report to Battalion Head-quarters. Looking out from the 'pill-box' he saw his batman shot dead before he had gone very far. Some Australians then came up and he took them into the 'pill-box'—a welcome addition to the garrison of one. Repeatedly during the day he attempted to get messages back to head-quarters, no fewer than five runners being shot in the attempt. He held on to the position gained till evening, and then, in compliance with instructions, rejoined his company, of which he now found himself commanding officer. Then he reorganized the remains of the company under heavy shell-fire, consolidated the position, and established part of a new line. During the day he killed several of the enemy with his bayonet. His bravery and initiative earned him an 'immediate' D.S.O. These two incidents are mentioned to illustrate the gallantry of officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, but there is not space to record all the deeds or to give all the names of those who displayed conspicuous gallantry on the Western Front.

After the first failure an order was received to reorganize and resume the attack at 3 p.m., but, in face of protests from Commanders in the field as to the utter impossibility of carrying it out under enemy observation and heavy fire, the order was cancelled. It could only have led to further casualties.

The most serious problem that now presented itself was the evacuation of the wounded. The 2nd Brigade, which had had

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the hardest fighting, had lost in killed, wounded, and missing no fewer than 1,521. The Rifle Brigade's losses were 1,214. Thus in two brigades which had a strength of about 5,000 the total losses were 2,735. Each brigade had 22 officers killed. No fewer than 300 other ranks were killed in the 2nd Brigade, but the Rifle Brigade's losses in killed were only 160. There were 1,904 wounded, with the usual proportion of stretcher cases, and such was the condition of the ground that it took six men six hours to carry a wounded man from the front to the post at Spree Farm, a distance of 3,700 yards. From that post there was another carry of 2,400 yards to a point where the wounded could be put on trollies and trains. There were no communication trenches. All the traffic was in the open, and in places on the battlefield the mud was 4 feet deep. In addition to the stretcher-bearers 1,200 men of the 4th Brigade were employed for stretcher work on the night of the 12th–13th. A battalion of the 147th Brigade was lent to the Division to help, and parties of our own artillery were also available, but by the time they arrived practically all the wounded had been got in.

There was surely no more dreary scene in all the war than was presented by the battlefield next day. It was worse than the Somme. The medical services strained every nerve in succouring the wounded. The rain had ceased, but a bank of fog encircled the field—fog with which was mixed the remains of the battle smoke and the smoke from thousands of little fires where men were endeavouring to prepare something hot for their meal. The Wieltje Road was a ribbon of liquid mud bordered in places with skeleton trees, once a splendid avenue, and on either side of it and beyond was the wilderness of tortured earth with brimming shell-holes lip to lip, some with a crimson stain in their yellow water. In this land, once beautiful in its fertility, there was now no leaf on any tree, no grass in any field, no flower on any bank, no roof on any house, but dead men and horses and mules in plenty. Through all this desolation, in the face of bursting shells, furious machine-gun fire, and uncut wire, the two New Zealand Brigades had fought valiantly but unsuccessfully. There, where the line now ran, from the Cemetery to Wolfe Copse below the deadly Bellevue Spur, through sticky Marsh Bottom, and so on to the unrecognizable Ravebeek, lieutenants had led their platoons

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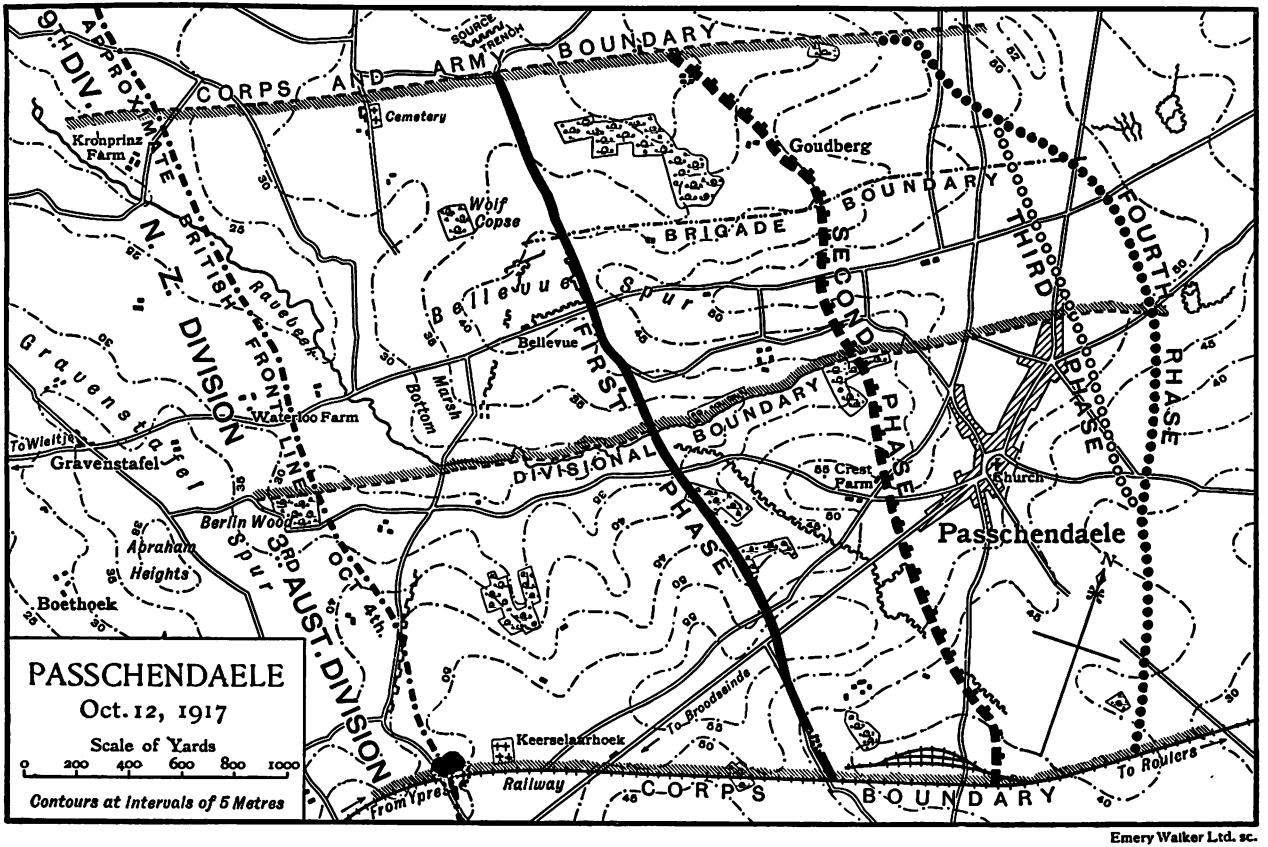

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with splendid heroism, even crawling in the face of the fire through the entanglements in their efforts to find a way for their men. There, Captains had led their companies in determined rushes against concrete forts till many fell, dead or wounded. Dodging from shell-hole to shell-hole, always under observation and furious fire, they tried to find some gap or a way round. In one Otago Company, when all the officers were killed or wounded, a sergeant took command, captured a 'pill-box', and held it all day till out of 140 men who had gone into action, only 26 had escaped the shells and the bullets. A new horror in the shape of the burning 'mustard' gas had been added by the enemy to all the other terrors of modern war. Even the wounded often fought on in vain endeavour to attain success. Stretcher-bearers struggled to extricate their fallen comrades. Riflemen went to their aid and helped in the strenuous and dangerous work. Under fire they rescued men who were drowning in shell-holes or half smothered in liquid mud. A burying party, finding their task impossible in the face of heavy shell-fire, laid down their shovels and went to help the bearers. Day and night men bandaged wounds, and, in bitter weather, all the time at the risk of their own lives, carried their stricken comrades to safety and comparative comfort. For two days and nights they toiled—until they were ready to drop from fatigue. Their reward was the knowledge that they had saved many lives, and the fact that by 10.30 a.m. on the 14th the battle front on the New Zealand sector was clear of wounded—a notable feat.

During the next few days the enemy shelling increased in intensity, and bombing by enemy aeroplanes was persistent. The New Zealanders were relieved by the 3rd Canadian Division, and went back into the training area in the region of Tilques and Lumbres to recuperate and engage in further training. Here the welcome news was received that the Canadian Corps had succeeded in the capture of Passchendaele. At the end of the month, Lieut.-Col. R. O'Hara Livesay, D.S.O., The Queen's Regiment, left the Division to take over duties at a Staff School for Americans. He had been General Staff Officer of the Division for 16 months, and his work in the Somme, Messines, and Ypres battles had been carried out with brilliancy and tireless devotion to duty. His place was

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taken by Lieut.-Col. H. M. Wilson, D.S.O., Rifle Brigade, who remained with the Division from this time until after it had crossed the Rhine.

For some months now the New Zealand Division was alternately in the training area and in the line. At the beginning of December, when the Division was holding the Polygon Wood Section of the line, east of Ypres, there was fighting at Polderhoek Chateau, a strong point in the German line. An attempt by the 2nd Brigade to take the position failed owing to enemy machine-gun fire from commanding positions, but some useful ground was gained. The casualties were about 300.

In this fighting on the 3rd December 1917, Private H. J. Nicholas of the Canterbury Battalion, who had already gained the Military Medal, won the Victoria Cross. He was one of a Lewis Gun Section that had orders to form a defensive flank to the right of the advance, which was subsequently checked by heavy machine-gun and rifle fire from an enemy strong point. Followed by the remainder of his section at an interval of about 25 yards, Private Nicholas rushed forward alone, shot the officer in command of the strong point, and overcame the remainder of the garrison of 16 by means of bombs and bayonet, capturing four wounded prisoners and a machine gun. He took this strong point practically single-handed, and thereby saved many casualties. Subsequently, when the advance had reached its limit, Private Nicholas collected ammunition under heavy machine-gun and rifle fire.

During January 1918, enemy aircraft were active in dropping bombs, and the men in the line suffered owing to flooded trenches. They had to bear also a good deal of shelling. In January and February the weather was cold, with snow and frost. For some days the shell-torn countryside, with frozen pools and white hummocks, took on the appearance of a New Zealand glacier, in which snowy hummocks are sprinkled with the debris of moraines. The enemy fired considerable numbers of gas shells, especially on the 19th February, when Brig.-Gen. Hart was gassed with the whole of the staff of the 2nd Brigade and 162 other ranks. The shelling was mainly during the night, and the liquid froze. Next day, when the sun came out, the gas was liberated, and officers and men, not suspecting its presence in such strength, became casualties. Many of the cases were not severe, and though they had to be evacuated,

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nearly all recovered. A tribute is due to the incessant work of the Division in strengthening the defences of the ground which they held against a possible German offensive. From the 7th of February 1918 the 4th Brigade of the New Zealand Division ceased to exist as such, and became a reservoir of reinforcements for the other three brigades. It was thereby made possible for the New Zealanders to retain four-battalion brigades, whereas the strength of the brigades in the Old Country units was reduced to three battalions.

In March, when the great German thrust was made in the direction of Amiens, the New Zealand Head-quarters were in the training area at Renescure, and the Division left at short notice to assist in stopping the advance. It was again in fine fighting trim and ready for any adventure. The news that it was to entrain for the south was welcomed, and received by one battalion with cheers. At the apex of the German advance there was much confusion behind the British lines, and there were grave doubts as to when and where the onrush would be stayed. Orders and counter-orders came to the New Zealanders. They were shifted at short notice from Army to Army, from Corps to Corps, until even the Army in which the Division was did not know where it was. Head-quarters were established at Corbie, hurriedly changed to Ribemont, and had no sooner reached Ribemont than a sudden midnight move was made to Hedauville. At length, on the 25th March, at 8 p.m., the Division received orders from the Third Army to march by the Hedauville–Mailly Maillet–Puisieux Road to fill the gap between Hamel and Puisieux au Mont. It was now in the IVth Corps. Orders and counter-orders had made concentration difficult, and the tired units had to go into action irrespective of the brigades to which they belonged. The enemy was already at Hébuterne and Colincamps, but here he was brought to a standstill.

The position was as follows : the German thrust, by breaking in between the Third and Fifth Armies at their point of junction, had forced the Fifth Army back almost to Amiens, and had driven the Third Army over the Ancre, on the western bank of which a stand was being attempted. If the New Zealand Division could hold the ground assigned to it, there was a good chance of establishing a solid line to link up with the left of the Third Army, still intact, in front of Arras.

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Splendidly the New Zealanders rose to the emergency, and great was their service to the Allied cause at this critical time and place. The inhabitants were fleeing from their homes, kits were packed, and wagons limbered ready for retreat, when on the 26th of March the Division fought a most successful encounter with the enemy west of Beaumont Hamel. It was open warfare at last, such as the New Zealanders loved, the Germans were pushed back, many were killed, and a great haul of machine guns was made. There was, however, still a gap between the left of the Division opposite Serre and the next body of troops south of Hébuterne. Although the last men to come up were exhausted by a forced march of 20 miles, this gap was filled, and the Germans again driven back by a determined advance of the New Zealanders at dawn on the 28th, while repeated counter-attacks on the previously established line were repulsed. In the next few days the Germans continued their attacks, but in vain. Elated with its first success, the Division fought with vigour and enthusiasm. On the 30th March a well executed counter-attack by the 1st Brigade and a battalion of the New Zealand Rifle Brigade won back some important ground and inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy, and by the 3rd April the German advance in this quarter was definitely stayed.

On the 28th March Brig.-Gen. H. T. Fulton, C.M.G., D.S.O., in command of the New Zealand Rifle Brigade, and his Brigade-Major, R. G. Purdy, were killed by a German shell. Colonel A. E. Stewart, who had left his store in a little New Zealand country town to go to the war, took command of the Brigade, and in a few days was engaged in repelling a determined attack.

For some time the Division remained in the vicinity of Hébuterne, and the line was put into a state of thorough defence. All through this trying period of disaster and depression the Division was continually on the offensive, and its aggressive spirit contributed largely to raising the morale of the troops generally, especially the recent reinforcements, and to restoring the feeling of superiority to the enemy which had been temporarily shaken. On the 10th July, as the result of continuous pressure by the Division, the enemy retreated from Rossignol Wood, but patrols pushed forward and again got into touch with him. General Byng, the Commander of

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the Third Army, sent his congratulations upon operations 'that had placed the enemy in an extremely difficult position'. The Division, he said, was to be warmly congratulated on its spirit and initiative.

It was during these operations that Sergeant Richard Charles Travis, D.C.M., M.M., a noted character and a famous raider in the Division, was killed. He had also been awarded the Belgian Croix de Guerre, and to these awards was now added a posthumous V.C. Undoubtedly he was the King of the New Zealand raiders. Night and day No Man's Land was his home. If a German was wanted for identification purposes Travis would go out and bring one in. He was supposed to have come from Arizona, but his history was somewhat of a mystery. What favouring breeze blew him to New Zealand's shores no one knew, and when he died, none knew his next of kin. When the Mounted Rifles, of which he was one, were left behind at the start of the Gallipoli campaign, he stowed away in order to take part in the fighting on the Peninsula, and though he was sent back and punished, he got there eventually. On the Western Front he did well in the raids at Armentières, on the Somme he soon became known as a killer of Germans, and in this later fighting, which was more in the open, he and his band of merry men were in their element. During surprise operations it was necessary to destroy an impassable wire block. Sergeant Travis, regardless of all personal danger, volunteered for this duty. Before zero hour, in broad daylight, and in close proximity to enemy posts, he crawled out and successfully destroyed the block with bombs, thus enabling the attacking parties to pass through. A few minutes later a bombing party on the right of the attack was held up by two enemy machine guns, and the success of the whole operation was in danger. Perceiving this, Sergeant Travis rushed the position, killed the crew, and captured the guns. An enemy officer and three men immediately rushed at him from a bend in the trench and attempted to retake the guns. These four he killed single-handed, thus allowing the bombing party, on which much depended, to advance. The success of the operation was almost entirely due to the heroic work of this gallant N.C.O., and to the vigour with which he made and used opportunities for inflicting casualties on the enemy. He was killed 24 hours later, when, under a most intense

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bombardment prior to an enemy counter-attack, he was going from post to post, encouraging the men.

Meantime, in the north the enemy had also broken through the line, and much of the country in which the New Zealanders had fought, from Armentières to Ypres, was again in his hands. The communications in the direction of Boulogne and Calais were in danger. The 2nd Brigade of the New Zealand Field Artillery with another Corps was in the line here, and did magnificent work in helping to stem the German advance. Well behind the front there was also a New Zealand Reinforcement Camp, from which a mixed lot of troops were rushed to the front at Meteren on the 16th April and assisted in no small degree in holding up the enemy. This involved losses in killed and wounded, and two companies were cut off and some of the men taken prisoners. The Otago Mounted Rifles and the New Zealand Cyclists did good service in this fighting.

With Foch in supreme command, the Armies on the Western Front, having held the German advance, were now ready again to attack, and there began the well-directed hammer blows which, in a few weeks, were to lead to the ultimate defeat of the German Armies in the field. In all the long hunt which finally drove the enemy through the Forest of Mormal and beyond the Sambre, it may be claimed for the New Zealanders that they were among the leading hounds of the pack. The German *débâcle* began with the battle of Amiens, the result of which affected the whole enemy line. Opposite the New Zealanders, from about the 13th August 1918, the Germans were in process of retirement, and the New Zealand Division came into action in the second phase of the British offensive, when on the 21st August the Third Army took up the running from the Fourth Army, and advanced with the object of rapidly pressing the enemy back to Bapaume and preventing destruction of railway and road communications. The attack on the IVth Corps front was carried out by the 42nd, the New Zealand, and the 37th Divisions. Of the New Zealand troops only the Rifle Brigade was in action. A grey day on the 20th, in which the enemy planes could do nothing, was succeeded by a night of bright moonlight which facilitated the assembly of the attacking troops, and this, in turn, was followed by a dense early morning fog, so that the enemy was surprised, and many of his trenches were taken before he was aware of

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what was happening. At first, owing to the fog, Commanders in the line were unable to locate their positions by the map, and only judged where they were by keeping up with the barrage. The New Zealand Rifle Brigade took all its objectives and many prisoners, and its casualties were not many. At dawn on the following day the enemy counter-attacked from Miraumont, and the New Zealand machine gunners drove 200 Germans towards the 5th Division, which made them prisoners. On the 23rd the attack was resumed, and the Rifle Brigade advanced their line and captured many machine-gun posts in the Miraumont valley, some of which, although surrounded, held out till dark.

The New Zealanders were ordered to exploit the success towards Bapaume, and at 2 a.m. on the 24th the artillery crescendo rose to a deafening pitch. North Islanders of the 1st Brigade were now in the fight. Ahead lay Loupart Wood, Grévillers, and Biefvillers, strong points in the forefront of the Bapaume defences. At 4 a.m. the 1st Brigade advanced without a barrage, for there had been no time to prepare one. The enemy was now fighting a rearguard action, mainly with his rifles and machine guns, and was mercilessly sacrificing the latter in order to save his artillery, his stores, and his munitions. The New Zealanders, though there was no barrage to help them, advanced to this attack as calmly as if they were going for an ordinary morning stroll. The capture of Loupart Wood and part of Grévillers was brilliantly accomplished. General Russell had sent for the Brigadier and given him verbal orders to take the Wood. At midnight the Brigadier had hurried off and given verbal orders to his Battalion Commanders. At 2 a.m. in pitch darkness the Brigade was on the march to an assembly point that none of them had seen. With unerring judgement they arrived at the point. At 4.15 a.m. the attack began, by 7 a.m. Grévillers had been taken, and the troops were also in the Wood, which, by the afternoon, was theirs. Ahead, on the left flank, was Biefvillers, which had withstood the assault of an English Division, and though it was beyond their divisional area, the New Zealanders took it. The 2nd Brigade gallantly co-operated in much of this fighting. A further advance on the left was pushed back, and the Division had to be content with having fully secured its first objective. By the end of the day the 1st Brigade had killed and wounded

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many Germans, had captured a large number of prisoners, and had taken a battery and many machine guns. The remarkable feature of the operation was the quickness with which it was planned and the swiftness with which it was carried out. Its success was certainly a tribute to the initiative and the daring of the overseas troops.

In this fighting at Grévillers on the 24th August, Sergeant Samuel Forsyth, of the New Zealand Engineers, attached to the 2nd Auckland regiment, by dashing leadership, was instrumental in capturing three machine-gun positions and taking their crews prisoners. Continuing their advance his company came under further heavy machine-gun fire. Forsyth made a daring reconnaissance. Then seeing one of our tanks on the outskirts of the village he ran to it and proceeded to guide it to a spot where it could best deal with the machine guns. The tank came under the fire of a German anti-tank gun, and Forsyth was wounded in the arm. As soon as he could get his wound bandaged he rushed again to the tank, and, in the face of heavy machine-gun and anti-tank gun fire, he walked in front of the tank still directing it to a favourable position. Before he reached the desired spot the tank was put out of action by a direct hit. Without any loss of time Forsyth organized the crew of the tank, together with some New Zealanders, and led them to a position from which the guns could be outflanked. This plan brought about the retirement of the machine guns and enabled the advance to proceed. All this daring work was done under heavy fire and where there was little cover. Soon afterwards he was killed by a sniper's bullet, but a posthumous V.C. provides a permanent record of his initiative and great bravery.

Bapaume, the much battered town, was now gradually being outflanked, but realizing its importance the enemy made a determined stand. By the 25th all three brigades of the Division had been in action, and men from every part of New Zealand had taken a part in the battle, now raging all along the British line. On the night of the 25th Favreuil fell to the New Zealanders and some British troops. On the following day a battalion of the Rifles met a hail of machine-gun bullets, suffered severely, and for the time had to retire. The defences of Bapaume still held. A battalion of Wellington troops volunteered to take the town by a frontal attack, and a plan

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was worked out, but before it could be put into execution, the enemy, threatened on both flanks, left the stronghold under cover of darkness, and on the 29th August New Zealand patrols were marching through the town. The two outflanking New Zealand Brigades met on the other side of it. Bapaume had fallen.

The 1st Auckland Battalion, fighting for positions on the south of Bapaume on the 26th August, came up against severe enemy machine-gun fire. Sergeant Reginald Stanley Judson, who had already won the Distinguished Conduct Medal and the Military Medal, now led a small bombing party under heavy fire and captured the foremost of the enemy guns. He then proceeded up a sap alone, and, throwing bombs, drove three other machine-gun crews before him. As there seemed some likelihood that they would escape, he jumped out of the trench and ran ahead of them. Then standing on the parapet above he commanded the party, consisting of two officers and ten men, to surrender. Instantly they fired on him but missed, whereupon he threw a bomb, and after it had exploded, himself jumped into the trench amongst them, killing two, putting the rest to flight, and capturing two of the machine guns. For the very gallant manner in which he succeeded in putting these guns out of action he was awarded the Victoria Cross.

At this stage of the war all night long the sky behind the German lines was aglow with fires and explosions. Stores were being burnt and ammunition dumps blown up. The New Zealanders continued hot-foot upon the trail of the retreating enemy, and Battalion, Brigade, and Divisional Head-quarters made hurried moves forward to places that were being bombed and shelled, and became scenes of desolation and battle stench. The continuous thunder of artillery on the morning of the 30th August heralded a signal for further advance, and the Rifles and North Islanders marched on Fremicourt and Bancourt. These villages were taken, but subsequently the German resistance was stubborn, and even on the 1st September, when Sergeant Grant so distinguished himself, little ground was gained.

Fighting near Bancourt on this day, Sergeant John Gilray Grant, of the 1st Wellington regiment, won the Victoria Cross. While his battalion was attacking on the high ground to the

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east of the town, it was found that five enemy machine-gun posts dominated the position of the advancing troops. The fire was extremely heavy and was at point-blank range. A whole company went forward to put these machine guns out of action. When about twenty yards from the posts Grant, closely followed by another, pushed forward at the head of his platoon, rushed the sentry post, which he immediately entered at the risk of his life, and so demoralized the garrison that his men were able to enter and mop up the position. Then, still followed by the same man, he rushed the gun position on the left and put the crew out of action, whereupon the other posts were quickly occupied by the remainder of the company.

In this open warfare the New Zealanders got the chances they had long looked for. At times they worked as on a field day, sections moving forward to attack hostile machine guns while allowing other sections on the flanks to continue their advance. On a ridge, where was still standing a former English camp of iron huts, Otago men came up against heavy machine-gun fire, and lost many men killed and wounded. But on this same ground afterwards we saw many German dead and a great litter of German equipment and ammunition. One instance of the endurance and dash of the troops at this time may be given. The Brigadier of the Rifle Brigade was just getting into his bed in an unprotected bivouac facing the German guns that was his head-quarters when he was ordered to attack at 5 a.m. A battalion that had already been in two attacks was chosen. At 3 a.m. it moved off on a hurried two-miles march, and reached the assembly point just as the barrage was about to come down. Officers and men had but a few minutes to get their second wind. Then, in the wake of the bursting shells, they started off to do another 2,500 yards. They took the enemy by surprise, killed and wounded many, and captured 250 prisoners. Meantime, other troops taking part in the advance had not got up, and the untiring New Zealanders held the ridge till two in the afternoon with the enemy pouring in an enfilade fire.

It was on the 30th of August that Fremicourt and Bancourt fell, as already told, and with the beginning of September a new phase in the operations was reached, for the British success on the Scarpe threw the Germans back at once on the Hindenburg Line. The line of advance for the New Zealanders was through

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Haplincourt, Bertincourt, and Ruyalcourt at the southern end of the big Havrincourt Wood, and so through Metz-en-Couture to the little wood of Gouzeaucourt, which was reached on the night of the 7th–8th September. Troops of the 2nd Brigade who went through Haplincourt, after having been in battle the day before, marched 7,000 yards to get in touch with the enemy once more. They were footsore and weary, but, uncomplaining, they fought on.

For a few days from the 10th September the advance did not go so well. Near the Hindenburg Line the enemy was found strongly entrenched just outside the western edge of Havrincourt Wood. Each of his battalions had two companies holding the line, each company had two platoons pushed out 200 yards ahead, and 300 yards ahead of them were outposts of eight men each. The front companies were told to hold the line to the last, and in the event of their being driven out the line was to be retaken. This was with the object of delaying the British advance till the Germans could get back to make their final stand on the Hindenburg Line which they thought impregnable. A new Division—the 113th—had come into the line, and they fought well. Other German Divisions were now far below strength, and the morale of the troops had been badly shaken by the depressing incidents of the swift backward drive. In the vicinity of African Trench, Snap Trench, and Dead Man's Corner the line for a time swayed to and fro and there was bitter fighting, with bombing on both sides, and the use of *flammenwerfer* by the enemy, in addition to the usual gas and other shelling and the vigorous use of machine guns and rifles. On our left the 37th Division, which for the greater part of this long drive fought splendidly beside the New Zealanders, had captured Trescault, but on our right the progress was very slow. On the night of the 14th–15th the New Zealand Division, which had been fighting continuously for over three weeks, was moved back to rest and reorganize.

On the 12th of September another V.C. had been won by Sergeant H. J. Laurent. He was detailed to exploit an initial success and keep in touch with the enemy. With a party of twelve he located the enemy support line very strongly held, at once charged the position, followed by his men, and completely disorganized the enemy by his sudden onslaught. In the subsequent hand-to-hand fighting he showed great

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resourcefulness in controlling and encouraging his men, and thirty of the enemy having been killed, the remainder surrendered—a total of one officer and 111 other ranks in all.

On the 28th September, at 3.30 a.m., under a waning moon and a slight ground mist, the 1st and 2nd New Zealand Brigades again advanced behind a barrage by five brigades of artillery moving at the rate of 100 yards in three minutes. The attack was a complete success. Welsh Ridge and La Vacquerie village were captured; by dawn our troops were storming the Bonavis Ridge, and after stiff fighting its heights were won. In the front of the Hindenburg Line, which crossed the area of the attack, certain pockets of the line held out till 8 a.m. On the right, however, the 5th Division had been unable to make progress during the night, and as daylight came the enemy began to pour machine-gun fire into the New Zealanders from the right rear, making further progress forward of the Bonavis Ridge impossible for the time being. The night had been cold, and as the moon sank darkness cloaked the battle-field. There had been doubt as to the advisability of attacking such a strong line in the darkness, but the element of surprise justified the plan. The New Zealand casualties were surprisingly light. Their captures were 1,500 prisoners, over 200 machine guns, 30 field guns, and 2 naval guns. Many Germans had bitten the dust, and the New Zealand medical units were almost as busy with German wounded as with our own. Northward we watched the great smoke columns rising from Cambrai on fire.

Another formidable obstacle lay ahead—the Canal de St. Quentin and the Escault River—a strong defensive line. Here the enemy had destroyed most of the bridge-heads, and he fought well for further breathing time to save his badly shattered divisions. Our men reached the canal at daybreak on the 30th September. Their task was to establish a bridge-head at Crevecoeur. It was a pitch black night, with bitter wind and rain sweeping the battle-field, and the bridge-heads were also swept with storms of machine-gun bullets. Some daring Aucklanders crossed one of the bridges on the single plank that remained, surprising the guard who were just getting out of bed. They found themselves on an island between the canal and the river beyond, where other bridge-heads remained to be stormed. They tried a traffic bridge on the left, but it was swept with bullets from guns concealed in

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the houses of the village. Other bridges they found destroyed. A dauntless company commander brought one platoon back, and got them over a river bridge farther on, but there they found another branch of the river ahead, and an attempt to cross was foiled by a renewed storm of German bullets. Finally they got across on a fallen tree, but the position gained was untenable and they had to fall back. It was decided, however, to hang on to the valuable position gained across the canal, and, in grim earnest, these brave men set themselves the task of holding their ground in the face of shell fire, and the deadly aim of snipers hidden in houses and in trees, as well as of machine-gun fire.

All through that morning the runners did wonderful work. They crossed and recrossed under a leaden hail. Against a background of brave but sombre fighting the cool heroism and untiring energy of Private J. Crichton of the Auckland Battalion stands in bold relief. He had been a quartermaster at one of the seaport bases, dealing with the supply of bread, but tiring of this life of inaction and comparative ease, he joined up with the infantry as a private. Early in the day he carried a message through intense fire to inform the company commander of the plight of the forward platoon which was now in a perilous position. To do this he had to swim the icy cold river. He also reported that the bridge, which was swept with bullets the moment any one appeared, was mined. His commander said the mines could be dealt with only after darkness had set in. 'I'm d—d if that young fellow, without saying another word to any one, didn't go away and do the job himself in broad daylight! And what is more, to the astonishment of all concerned, and still under fire, he brought back the fuses and some of the other appliances to show that the job had been done.' In these words his commander, who himself won distinction in the same fight, told, on the battlefield, what had been accomplished. But there was more still. For an hour and a half Crichton had been wet from head to foot, and was shivering with cold. Three of the company stretcher-bearers had become casualties, so the Captain told him off to do some stretcher-bearing, thinking that the exercise would restore his bodily warmth. He carried on at this for the remainder of the day, and not till he had finished did he ask a doctor at the Regimental Aid Post to look at his own

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foot. He had been wounded earlier in the day, and had said not a word about it. He was awarded the Victoria Cross.

At six o'clock in the evening the enemy counter-attacked, sweeping the position with his fire and causing many casualties, but the attack was beaten off. By nightfall the defending company, which had been reinforced by one platoon, had 50 casualties. To shorten the line a slight withdrawal was made, and a protective flank to the canal was formed. All night the gallant defenders held on, and next morning, the 1st of October, the 1st Auckland and the 2nd Wellington Battalions attacked and captured Crevecœur, but in an attempt to further exploit the success the Aucklanders were driven back and lost heavily in a sunken road as the result of shelling and machine-gun and rifle fire.

Now that the main Hindenburg Line had been crossed events marched quickly, and the days were crowded with incident and adventure. When the attack was resumed on the 8th October the South Islanders of the 2nd Brigade on the right, and the 3rd (Rifle) Brigade on the left, were in the van of the battle, with the 37th Division on the right of the New Zealanders and the 3rd Division on their left. Beyond the canal ran the trenches and belt after belt of the wire of the Masneires–Beaurevoir Line. The Rifle Brigade on the right were already through the line. An endeavour to cut the wire with trench-mortar bombardment had been made, but there was so little time available, and so much wire to cut, that but few gaps had been made in it. The troops were shelled as they assembled in the darkness. A compass bearing had been taken, and by this the officers steered. Dawn was breaking as they reached the wire, but with torn clothes and bleeding hands and legs the infantry got through, though not without leaving some dead caught up in the strands of the labyrinth. With this success the whole of the supposedly impregnable Hindenburg system in this locality was for ever behind, the marvel being that we had got through it so cheaply. But the morale of the German soldiers was not what it had been, and the word 'Kamerad' was more frequently on their lips than it had ever been before. As the attack progressed, the enemy could be seen retreating beyond Esnes. Lesdain fell, and the troops advancing along the valley through which ran the Torrent of Esnes, captured the village of that name. The

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thoroughly demoralized enemy was now on the run, and the New Zealanders pushed on across the open as if they were doing a field exercise. Over the ridge between Caudry and Fontaine-au-Pire, a village that in modern times had joined up with Beauvois-en-Cambresis, they went. They were making history anew on the rolling downs on which the battle of Le Cateau, earlier in the war, had ebbed and flowed. From Fontaine came heavy rifle and machine-gun fire, some of it from a church steeple. Beauvois and Fontaine were outflanked under cover of darkness on the evening of the 9th, and were found evacuated, for the enemy was again on the run. Food, half-cooked, was still in his pots, and cooked food, half-eaten, still on his tables. Otago men pushing up their Vickers guns along a shallow valley for a thousand yards, forced the Germans to continue their retreat. The shells from our 18-pounders hastened his movements. While some ran, others came back with their hands up. The attack continued through the open, men moving forward in artillery formation,[1] taking advantage of depressions in the ground and of whatever slight cover the country afforded. The staff, now on horses, galloped to rendezvous to hold hurried conferences. Officers galloped back to head-quarters with information, and galloped forward again with orders. The battle went according to the book—unlike most modern battles, and the thrill of successful fighting stirred the men to greater effort. On the 10th of October Viesly fell. So quick was the advance that the objective gained was the one laid down for the brigade that had to pass through these troops that night. At dusk the troops pushed on another 1,000 yards towards Briastre on the Selle. The changed conditions of the fighting had been anticipated by General Russell, and the success attained was largely due to the special training which he had given his troops behind the battle area. A feature of this part of the advance was that the cookers were taken right up into the fighting area and gave the men hot meals. Hot soup and rissoles on the eve of an attack were in full accord with the famous Napoleonic maxim, and proved its truth. Occasionally the tragedy of war was relieved by comedy. A German who was found sniping with uncertain aim was taken prisoner and marched to head-quarters, where

[1] A technical term for the formation adopted by infantry when moving under fire from artillery only and not exposed to rifle fire.

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he persisted in singing German songs until he was booted out by the Battalion Commander. Marched back to Brigade Head-quarters he continued his melodies along the road, to the amusement of the troops. By the time he reached Brigade Head-quarters he became sufficiently coherent to give the intelligence officer quite a lot of valuable information. *In vino veritas*, apparently, was as true in war as in peace.

Having crossed the Selle south of Solesmes on the 11th October the New Zealand Division was given another brief spell out of the line. The attack was resumed on the Army front on the 20th October at 2 a.m., and on the 23rd began the brilliant advance of the South Island Brigade from a line in front of Solesmes to the high ground west of Le Quesnoy.

On that day the village of Vertigneul was captured by the 2nd Brigade, which, continuing its advance, encountered the enemy entrenched behind an unbroken band of wire north of the St. George's River. One platoon managed to get through this wire, whereupon some of the enemy surrendered and the rest ran away. Still pushing on beyond the objectives which had been assigned to it, the brigade secured under cover of darkness the crossings over the Ecaillon river at Beaudignies and St. Roche. Here Sergeant Nicholas, V.C., was killed in repelling a German attempt to retake Beaudignies. During the day 110 prisoners and 9 guns were captured. On the 24th the advance was resumed. A battalion commander and 87 prisoners were captured. Later the Rifle Brigade continued the advance on to the north-western edge of the old fortified town of Le Quesnoy, but was then held up after very sharp fighting at a level crossing on the Beaudignies–Orsival road. The weather had changed, and rain made the advance more difficult, so that for a time not much progress was made on the Corps front, but on the 4th November, with the 37th Division on the right and the 62nd Division on the left, a line was established at Herbignes away beyond Le Quesnoy in front of the great forest of Mormal, and the troops proceeded to exploit the success in the direction of the River Sambre. The New Zealanders were advancing north and south of the town, which, as it was still peopled with many inhabitants, could not be bombarded; but under an artillery barrage the Rifles and the 1st Brigade attacked early in the morning of the 4th, drums of burning oil being projected on the ramparts

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New Zealand 18 pr. in action near Le Quesnoy

New Zealand strong point on Valenciennes Railway

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at zero hour. The Rifle Brigade, attacking with three battalions in line, were sent forward to the ramparts which were being stoutly defended by enemy machine guns and snipers in commanding positions. The enemy launched a counter-attack on the right front, but it was completely repulsed, and many prisoners were captured. In the meantime the 1st Brigade moved north, and the envelopment of the town was completed. This brigade now took over the whole of the divisional front beyond Le Quesnoy, and continued the advance. By midday the 2nd and 4th Battalions of the Rifles had worked forward under cover of their fire and had secured the outer mound of the moat, but attempts to find a way through the ramparts failed for the time being. At half-past two in the afternoon two prisoners captured during the morning were sent into the town to demand the surrender of the garrison, and one of our planes, circling over the position, dropped the following message written in German :

'To the Commandant of the Garrison of Le Quesnoy.

'The position of Le Quesnoy is now completely surrounded. Our troops are now far east of the town. You are therefore requested to surrender with your Garrison. The Garrison will be treated as honourable prisoners of war.

'The Commander of the English Troops.'

Before any reply was received to these messages the New Zealanders discovered a brickwork sluice gate across the moat on the west of the town, and, under cover of fire from their Lewis guns and trench mortars, a scaling ladder was placed on the sluice gate against the great wall of the inner ramparts. Up this ladder went a platoon of the brigade in single file, and rushed two machine guns that were covering the rear of the ramparts. The remainder of the 4th Battalion then scaled the ladder, and dashing forward into the town secured the surrender of the garrison. Seven hundred and eleven prisoners were captured. The conquering troops were received with manifestations of great joy not unmingled with tears by the inhabitants, who for so long had suffered the restraint and hardships of German military rule.

The advance of the 1st Brigade went well. Before midnight the enemy had been driven into the forest, and 50 field guns had fallen into the hands of the New Zealanders. The 4th of November was, in the matter of gains, probably the most

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successful day for the Division in the whole war. An advance of six miles had been accomplished, Le Quesnoy had fallen, and to the westward Rompaneau, Villerau, Potelle, and Herbinges had been taken with captures of nearly 2,000 prisoners, 60 field guns, and several hundred machine guns. Though Le Quesnoy had held out for so long the New Zealand Artillery had, with great gallantry and determination, pushed forward, and they shot magnificently in support of the infantry to the final objective.

At daybreak on the 5th November the 2nd Brigade passed through the outpost line and continued the advance into the forest, overcoming heavy fire from strong machine-gun positions, and fighting through the forest from tree to tree until at dusk a line was established on the Pont sur Sambre–Bavai road. They had covered a distance of 7,500 yards through very difficult wooded country. That evening the Division was relieved and moved back into billets in the Le Quesnoy area and in Solesmes, and on the 11th November came news of the Armistice. Among the different services the Engineers had done particularly brilliant work.

During these operations the New Zealand Division had fought for 49 miles out of the total advance on the Corps front of 56 miles. Between the 21st August and the 6th November it captured over 9,000 prisoners, 145 guns, 3 tanks, and over 1,400 machine guns, as well as large quantities of war material, including heavy and light trench mortars, ammunition wagons, water carts, field kitchens, anti-tank rifles, and millions of rounds of ammunition. During the advance the total casualties in the Division in killed, wounded, and missing were 3,546. Forty-six officers and 476 other ranks were killed, 129 officers and 2,607 other ranks wounded.

On the 14th November a Divisional Thanksgiving Service was held. Bishop Sadlier of Nelson conducted the service, and the soldiers of the now war-worn Division sang with much feeling the hymns 'O God our Help', 'Lead Kindly Light', and 'Fight the Good Fight'. The service concluded with the singing of the National Anthem.

Soon afterwards began the long march to the German frontier with never-to-be-forgotten stirring welcomes in the French and Belgian towns through which the troops marched or in which they were billeted on the way. On the 20th

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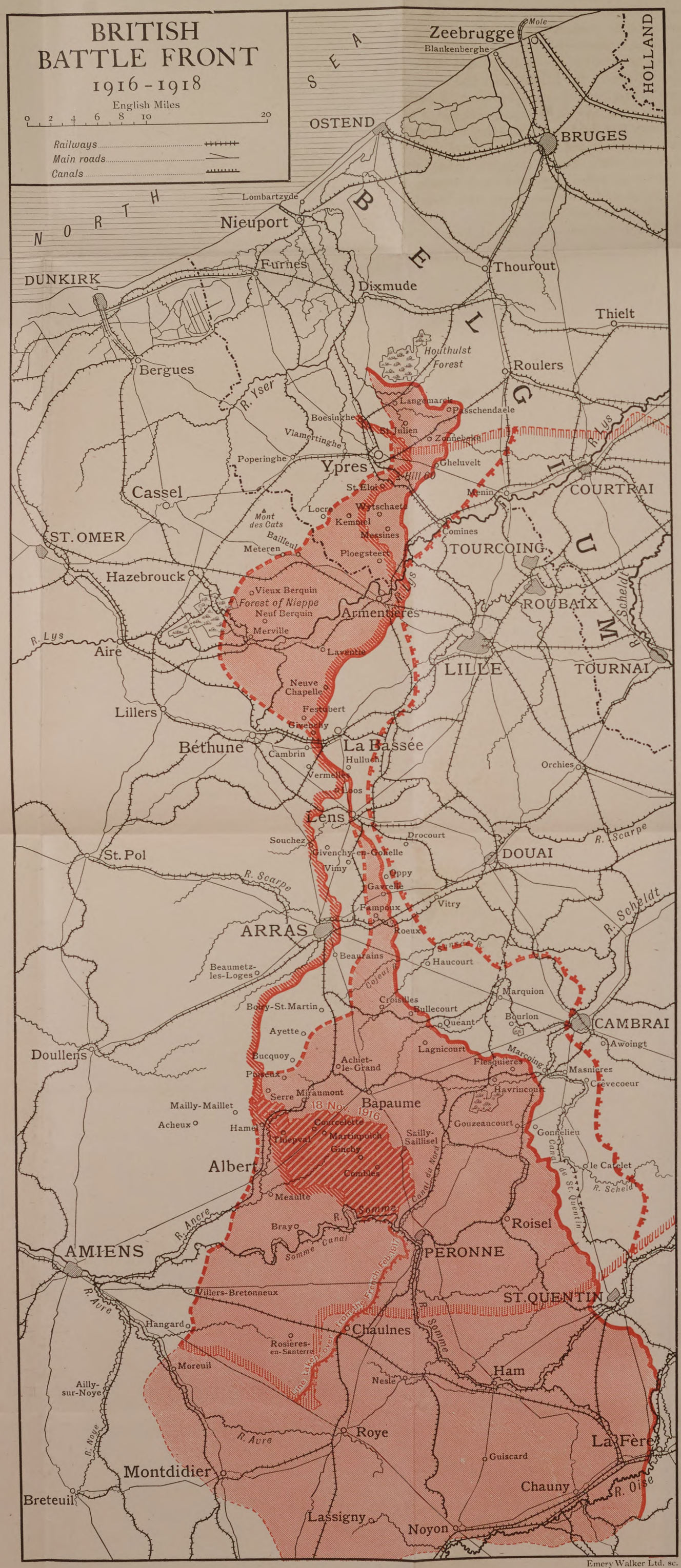
BRITISH BATTLE FRONT
1916 - 1918

English Miles
0 2 4 6 8 10 20

Railways
Main roads
Canals

Approximate British Lines, Gains and Losses

Line of 1 July, 1916
Allied gains in Somme Battles, July-November, 1916
Line of 21 March, 1918
Ground lost in German offensives of March & April, 1918
Line of 15 June, 1918
Line of 7 October, 1918
Northern and Southern boundaries of British Armies during the Final Advance



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December the 2nd New Zealand Infantry Brigade Group entrained at Herbesthal, detrained at Ehrenfeld, and marched through Cologne and across the Rhine to billets in Mulheim, where, in the splendid offices of the great dye-works where so much of the poison gas and high explosive powder for the German Armies had been manufactured, the Divisional Headquarters were established. Other brigades followed, and soon practically the whole Division was billeted in the towns across the Rhine. But now that fighting was at an end the New Zealand soldiers were one and all anxious to get back to their own country, and after they had done their share in the watch on the Rhine demobilization began, and in due time was satisfactorily accomplished. Back in New Zealand the soldiers were handsomely treated by their Government and their people, and quickly settled down in the ways of peace in their own beautiful and bountiful land.

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CHAPTER III

THE SINAI–PALESTINE CAMPAIGN

THE more important operations in which the main body of the New Zealand Forces took part on the Western Front somewhat dwarfed the excellent work done by the smaller unit, the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade, in the Sinai–Palestine campaign. The splendid fighting qualities of the brigade during the time it fought, dismounted, on Gallipoli have already been described. It remains to give a brief account of its record as a mounted unit in Sinai and Palestine.

The discomforts and trials of this campaign were comparable only with those of Gallipoli. It is true that in the East the New Zealanders had their horses as an ever-ready means of locomotion, that they missed the mud and the trench discomforts of the Somme and Passchendaele, and that they experienced nothing like the gun fire and the gas that prevailed on the Western Front. But they had troubles of their own inseparable from the nature of the campaign. In any case they had to look after their horses, and a man always thought of his horse before he thought of his own comfort. Then there was the scarcity of water, the heat and the sand storms of the desert, and later, the still more trying heat of the Jordan Valley. The comparative comfort and good food obtainable in the rest and training billets in France and Flanders were not to be obtained in the desert nor in the Holy Land. And there was not, for the mounted men, the delight of leave in England. At first they had scarcely any leave. Finally, to crown their troubles, there was the plague of flies and mosquitoes that spread malaria, till, towards the end of the campaign, men reeled in their saddles and dropped by the wayside, some to die, and many to make, as invalids, the long and terrible journey of 300 miles to the base hospitals at Cairo. The men in the West envied the men in the East, and vice versa; but after all there was perhaps not much to choose between East and West in war.

The New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade consisted of the

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Auckland, Wellington, and Canterbury regiments, with headquarters and the necessary auxiliary services. Its strength was generally about 1,800 with 2,000 horses. There was, in addition, a New Zealand Company in the Divisional Train, and two companies, originally with the Camel Corps, were later formed into a machine-gun squadron which served with the Australians. A battery of Royal Horse Artillery (T.F.) was attached to the New Zealand Brigade. General Chaytor took command of the brigade at Mudros upon the evacuation from Gallipoli in 1916, and after the second battle of Gaza he was given command of the Anzac Mounted Division. Brig.-Gen. Meldrum then took command of the brigade. Colonel Powles, who was with the brigade in Gallipoli and afterwards, then became A.A. and Q.M.G. of the Anzac Mounted Division.

A company of Raratongans worked well on the lines of communication and in the ammunition column attached to the heavy batteries of General Allenby's Army. Their great physical strength enabled them to handle the heavy ammunition as few men could.

From May to July 1916 the brigade had been fairly constantly in touch with the enemy, proving itself to be an efficient and valuable unit, but its first serious encounter was in August, when a Turkish force, from 15,000 to 18,000 strong, after an arduous desert march, attacked the British lines at Romani. Pressing back the British cavalry on the right, the enemy attempted to carry the position from this direction. But the advance was held, and the New Zealand Mounted Rifles, with a Yeomanry Brigade, delivered a most effective counter-stroke at the Turkish left flank, which drove the Turks back to Katia. Following up the enemy, the Anzac Division fought a hard action at Bir el Abd. Here the New Zealand Brigade had a particularly trying time, as the furious Turkish counter-attacks were mainly directed against the centre which they held. This action was followed by a further retreat of the enemy.

Patrol and outpost duty ahead of the slowly advancing railway now fell to the lot of the New Zealanders—work in which they and their Australian comrades excelled. Horses as well as men stood the severe test involved. By the beginning of December the railway had been carried far enough across the desert to enable a blow to be struck at El Arish, the former frontier town of Egypt, and on the 21st of that month, with

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Chetwode's desert column, the New Zealanders marched on this point, traversing in one night 36 miles of heavy desert sand on a compass bearing. The troops were now moving along the pathway that Joseph and Mary with the Infant Christ had taken, and at Katia the New Zealand horses were watered at the wells where, 120 years before, Napoleon's Army slaked its thirst. El Arish was occupied without resistance, the garrison having fled to Magdhaba, a fortified post on the Wadi el Arish, some 20 miles away inland. Here, after an all-night march, a strong force from the Desert Column, commanded by Chauvel, and consisting of Australian Light Horsemen, some of the Camel Corps, and the New Zealand Mounted Brigade, attacked the Turks on the 23rd December and captured or killed the whole force.

Much the same distance beyond El Arish along the coast was Rafa, near which the enemy was entrenched in a strongly fortified position, the defences of which had largely been designed by German officers. With other troops the New Zealand Brigade went forward to attack the place. Another rapid night march on the 8th–9th January 1917 brought the Anzac Mounted Division to within 2,000 yards of their objective, and on the 9th January they attacked under cover of machine-gun fire directed on the enemy parapets. The defence was most stubborn. The battle lasted all day, but towards evening, when it seemed as though want of water might compel the attacking force to retire, the New Zealanders charged across the open under a withering fire from the Turkish machine guns, and, with magnificent courage and dash, penetrating into the Turkish trenches, by hand-to-hand fighting carried the main redoubt. The Australians and the Camel Corps, acting quickly in support, enabled the whole position to be taken.

With the fall of Rafa the New Zealanders found themselves at the gateway to the Holy Land, with the tribulations of the desert behind them, and March and April 1917 saw the first attempts to penetrate into Palestine by taking the strong position at Gaza. In the first of the two battles, on the 26th March, the main task of the New Zealanders was, by a sweeping march round the town, to attack Gaza from the north-east. This they did with such success that by nightfall they were in the northern suburbs of the city. Unfortunately

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want of water made it impossible for the mounted troops to retain the positions which they had reached, while unforeseen delays earlier in the day prevented the infantry in the main attack from consolidating the ground which they had gained. The troops had therefore to be retired, having missed by a narrow margin a great success. Few units engaged had distinguished themselves as much as the New Zealand Mounted Rifles. During the action the Wellington regiment captured two guns, one of which, after sighting through the barrel, they loaded and fired upon the enemy with considerable effect.

The scope of the second battle of Gaza on the 17th–19th April included not only the town but also part of the line beyond it in the direction of Beersheba. It was a three days' battle. The New Zealand Brigade was with the Division engaged in holding the enemy off on the Beersheba side, and subsequently, on the third day, took part in the attack on the Atawineh Redoubt. The main attack, however, was held up by defences, which proved altogether too strong to be carried by the forces employed, and, after severe casualties, the attack had to be broken off. The New Zealanders lost only 7 killed and 81 wounded because during the first two days they were only protecting a flank. The British losses in the two battles were about 14,000. The failures at Gaza had made it evident that stronger forces were needed for the Sinai–Palestine campaign than had been placed at Sir Archibald Murray's disposal, and when, at the end of the following June, he was replaced by General Allenby, the deficiency was made good, and under the new Commander's powerful driving force, combined with able staff work, the campaign was eventually brought to a triumphant conclusion.

For some months the New Zealanders were engaged in trench digging and the weary round of outpost and patrol work. In his interesting account of the doings of the Brigade, Lieutenant A. Briscoe Moore, of the Auckland regiment, draws a picture of the gallant troopers at this time :

'As the troop rode into bivouac with a jingling of accoutrements, some men would be seen wearing riding breeches, others slacks, with their spurs. Their bodies would be but half covered in sleeveless shirts or singlets, always open at the neck, round which was slung the heavy bandolier. Rifles

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would be carried across the front of the saddle or slung over the left shoulder. Many would be unshaven, with red-rimmed eyes peering from faces darkened by sunburn and dust. The horses' coats would be rough and streaked with sweat, and horse and rider would be smothered in the dust of the day's march. . . . For all their rough appearance, however, such a troop of apparent ruffians could always be depended upon when it came to business—as the Turks knew well to their cost. The rough exterior covered hearts of gold, and as the little cavalcade rode in, the day's work done, no matter how tiring it had been, there would always be some irresponsible wag raising smiles by his apt comments on life in general and those around him in particular.'

At length, on the evening of the 30th October 1917, the advance on Beersheba started. It was a turning movement that assisted and led up to the final and successful attack on Gaza, and was the commencement of the breaking of the Turkish line. A long and rapid march brought the Anzac Mounted Division within striking distance of Beersheba, the key to which position was Tel el Saba (the Hill of Sheba), 1,000 feet high and over two miles east of Beersheba. The attack upon it was allotted mainly to the New Zealand Brigade, and early in the afternoon of the 31st the hill was most gallantly charged and taken. Later the New Zealanders were assisted by the Australian 1st Light Horse Brigade and the 2nd Light Horse Brigade in cutting the enemy's communications with Hebron.

Beersheba was taken on the evening of the same day, the 31st October, and then, for four or five days, the mounted troops were engaged in mountain warfare in the Judean hills. The Turks occupied commanding positions in the mountains immediately north of Beersheba, and so strong were these positions that the enemy could not be dislodged. Water was a great difficulty so far as the attacking troops were concerned, and on one occasion the New Zealand horses were without water for 72 hours. Meanwhile, Allenby had broken the line on the plains. By the 7th of November Gaza and all its defences were in British hands, and the New Zealand Brigade then went forward with the great northward sweep. On the 14th November there was a fight at Ayun Kara, where the Turks, with fixed bayonets, charged to within 30 yards of the New Zealanders. They were in overwhelming numbers, and

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got near enough to throw bombs. There was fierce fighting, but the brigade, with grim determination, though suffering many casualties, fought on victoriously amidst the dead and wounded. The accuracy of the New Zealand rifle and machine-gun fire, combined with the supreme courage of officers and men, had prevented what might easily, in the face of such numbers, have been a catastrophe. The Aucklanders had borne the brunt of the fighting, and when morning dawned 400 Turkish corpses were counted in front of the position they held. Many others were killed and wounded by the other two regiments. The New Zealand casualties also were heavy, but nothing like the enemy's losses. This fight took place six miles south of Jaffa on the Mediterranean side of the advance, for the brigade was now zigzagging across the southern half of Palestine, moving gradually northwards. On the 16th of November it occupied Jaffa. It remained in the coastal plain, in the neighbourhood of Jaffa, during the next three months, which saw the advance on, and, on the 9th of December, the capture of Jerusalem, and later in December the repulse of determined Turkish counter-attacks. It was not until the middle of February 1918 that, after some regimental training at the beginning of the year, the brigade came into the picture again. At this date a new movement was initiated, General Allenby having decided upon an eastward thrust against Jericho as a preliminary to an advance on the eastern side of the Jordan. With other troops the New Zealanders, who were now attached to the XXth Corps, had to operate in the wild country of the Judean hills, and march down from stony heights and water-worn glens to a valley 1,100 feet below sea-level. Through this country it was not easy to get the guns. Bad weather added to the difficulties, and one battery of field guns took 36 hours to cover eight miles. The attack went swiftly at the beginning, and then there was stiff fighting. In one place the New Zealand horses had to be led for a mile in single file along a difficult track leading to flat ground. On reaching the plain the brigade came under heavy rifle and artillery fire. The enemy also had a splendid field of fire with his machine guns placed in commanding positions, and as there was no artillery to support the New Zealanders the advance was held up for the time being within 500 yards of the enemy's position, but the Division succeeded in pushing through the

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hills and entered Jericho on the morning of the 21st February 1918. The New Zealand Brigade was leading with the 1st Australian Light Horse Brigade in support.

Allenby's next move was to advance east of the river to the capture of Amman and the cutting of the Hedjaz Railway. In this enterprise he was assisted by the motley Arab bands led by Feisal, the son of the King of the Hedjaz, who, influenced by Lawrence, had lent opportune aid. The first attempt was not very successful. The expedition moved forward in pouring rain on the night of the 21st March. The Jordan was in flood, some troops swam across, but it was impossible to enlarge the bridgehead in the face of furious Turkish fire. The Auckland regiment crossed the river in the early morning of the 23rd, and advancing northward in a dashing charge cleared the enemy from its banks in the vicinity of Makadet Hajleh, where the tradition is that Christ was baptized. Mainly as the result of this movement three bridges were built, and on that evening the 60th Division and most of the mounted troops were able to cross to the eastern side. The rain came down in torrents, making the roads impassable, but the Wellington and Canterbury regiments, joining their comrades on the other side, attacked the enemy and drove him in the direction of Es Salt. On the 25th the forward movement continued without opposition, and 90 Turks were captured by the New Zealanders, whose casualties were nil. On the 27th a dash was made for the railway, but the brigade was twice held up by an enemy reinforced in dominating positions. Lack of artillery made a successful advance impossible. The New Zealanders asked for artillery support, but it was not forthcoming, and only four rounds of ammunition were available for the section of a Hong Kong battery attached to the brigade. The enemy attacked to within ten yards of the line, but the New Zealand Brigade, with the 4th Battalion of the Imperial Camel Corps Brigade, replying brilliantly with rifle and machine-gun fire, drove him over the crest with heavy casualties. Another counter-attack that reached within 50 yards of the line was also beaten off. The fighting lasted from the 27th to the 30th, and then the brigade was ordered to withdraw on the night of the 30th as soon as the wounded had been evacuated. This was a difficult operation as there were no facilities. The wounded men had to be carried for a mile on stretchers improvised

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from blankets, and then conveyed on horseback—the badly wounded being tied on the horses—a further ten miles. The enemy had been well reinforced, and the crossing of the Jordan had created a sharp and dangerous salient in the British position, so that Allenby had to get his force back across the river, leaving only a few troops on the eastern bank to save the bridgehead already established. This attack had, however, drawn so many enemy troops forward for the defence of Amman, that in the meantime Feisal and others had been able to damage the railway in several places. On the 1st April, as the brigade was passing through Es Sir, from which the enemy had been driven by other troops, they were fired on by the Circassian inmates concealed in houses and in caves. The Wellington regiment replied and the treachery was severely punished. In these operations the brigade lost 6 officers and a considerable number of other ranks killed, and 6 officers and 116 other ranks wounded. They had captured over 200 prisoners and had killed and wounded many Turks.

Beyond a second raid across the Jordan at the end of April and beginning of May, for some time onward little could be done on this front, for two-thirds of Allenby's white troops had to be rushed to the Western Front where the situation had become serious. Indian troops from Mesopotamia and India took their place, and reorganization and training became the order of the day. Throughout the summer of 1918 the New Zealanders remained mostly in the valley of the Jordan, where the thermometer generally stood at 115° in the shade and sometimes rose to 120°. Dust and flies and the malarial mosquito added to the troubles of the brigade.

At length, in September, Allenby was ready for the bold and dramatic blow that was destined to crumple up the Turkish Armies and to end the war on the Eastern Front. Chaytor's Anzac Division, with which was the New Zealand Brigade, was engaged, with other troops, in a demonstration eastward, and with the special mission of tying to its ground the Turkish 4th Army. The enemy had a very large number of his troops over the Jordan, and he was greatly concerned about his left flank because the British mounted troops had been threatening that flank and the Hedjaz Railway. But the Turk was deceived. Without his knowledge there had been a transfer of mounted men and a concentration of all arms at the other end

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of the line. Instead of attacking on the enemy's left, Allenby made his great rush up the coastal plain; and, while the Turks were watching Chaytor, the main attack was delivered on the 19th September away on the Turkish right. This went so successfully that on the 21st Chaytor received orders to cross the Jordan and attack the Turkish 4th Army.

On the night of the 21st–22nd September and the morning of the 22nd the New Zealanders, with two battalions of the British West Indies regiment[1] from Chaytor's force, seized the crossing at Jisr el Damieh. The bridgehead was captured intact with 786 prisoners, 6 guns, and 4 machine guns, and during the operations the Commander of the 53rd Turkish Division and his staff were taken prisoners. A fine bayonet charge by the Auckland regiment, one squadron of the Canterbury regiment, and a company of the British West Indies regiment, had cleared the enemy from their last positions on the west bank of the Jordan. It was a troop of the Auckland regiment held in readiness, dismounted, that dashed forward and secured the important bridgehead. The Turkish 4th Army on the east of Jordan, now involved, began its retreat in the direction of Es Salt. On the 23rd September, after a trying march in the heat, along steep mountain tracks, Es Salt was enveloped and captured with 538 prisoners.

The sudden change from the hot Jordan Valley, a thousand feet below sea-level, to heights of nearly three thousand feet above it, was very trying to the New Zealand troops, many of whom succumbed to fever. Chaytor gave the retreating enemy no rest, and troops were close upon his heels from Es Salt to Amman. The brigade bivouacked above Es Salt, and then moved on to a native village (Suweileh) half-way to Amman. From here a picked party of a hundred men and horses under command of a Major, who had with him three subalterns, left on the evening of the 24th September on a night raid to cut the railway beyond Amman. Through unknown country they steered a course to the eastward. The night was dark, and the ground so broken with rocks and ravines that the compass was in frequent use. Split up into three parties, with feelers out in advance, it was an eerie ride with scarce a sound save the champing of a bit or the noise of iron shoe as it struck

[1] For a reference to the fight from the point of view of the British West Indies regiment see vol. ii, pp. 337–8.

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sparks from the flinty rock that obtruded along the trackless hillside. But there was always the chance that a crash of fire from enemy rifles or machine guns might break in upon this quiet. Once sounds were heard as of a party at work. A halt was called and three men stole forward and discovered a Turkish post digging in. The party now had to go back and find a way round. Meantime, the moon had risen, and in single file the column rode eastward along an ill-defined goat track. Avoiding the camps of treacherous Bedouins the party eventually came out upon a hill above the railway. Below was a road on which a long column of Turkish transport was marching northward. Worming its way round the shoulder of a hill into a hollow where the horses could not be seen the men dismounted, and a small party crept down to the railway, where they began to loosen the bolts that held the rails in place. While they were thus engaged a train approached, and the destroyers dived for cover behind two small rocks beside the line. The Turks in the train were talking and singing, and, being so engaged, they missed seeing the adventurous little New Zealand party, which was soon again busy with spanner and lever. Then a Turkish patrol appeared, and as it halted and listened, before riding off, there were a few tense minutes. In spite of other alarms the work of destruction was successfully done, and in the remaining hours of darkness the party stole back and rode away. Dawn was breaking as they got out of the mountain country, and they arrived at head-quarters at 6 a.m. as the brigade was moving out for the attack on Amman. Next day a Turkish supply train was wrecked where the New Zealanders had so well done their work.

At noon on the 25th the Canterbury regiment was ordered to test the main entrance to Amman with a view to galloping through. They were met with heavy fire from a stone redoubt, but they dismounted and carried the position at the point of the bayonet, capturing several Germans. The Canterbury regiment was then ordered to break through Amman, and immediately one troop galloped into the town. The remainder of the regiment then rode rapidly through the town and occupied the high ground to the east, thus taking the enemy defences in the rear. Meanwhile, a general advance had been ordered, and the Auckland and Wellington regiments, timing their advance with that of Canterbury, carried everything

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before them. Hundreds of the enemy in the trenches, and others who had their retreat cut off, surrendered. During the engagement 'one squadron', says Lieutenant Moore in his account, 'galloped into action in troop waves, immediately coming under heavy cross-fire from three machine guns. The squadron dismounted for action, the horseholders galloping back to the cover of a hill with the led horses. One or two men were shot in the saddle, and their uncontrolled horses set the pace for the rest as they galloped madly back, many with blood streaming from flesh wounds in their sides and legs, their arrival behind the hill with manes and tails flying resembling the finish of some classic race.'

During the day the brigade captured 1,734 prisoners, 25 machine guns, 8 field guns, 3 mountain guns, and 3 wireless sets, as well as 298 horses and a large amount of ammunition and stores. In the attack valuable assistance was given by two sections of the 29th Indian Mountain Battery, who were ordered right forward and fired with great effect over open sights at short range against enemy machine guns. On the 27th and 28th the brigade was engaged in clearing the battlefield.

This was the last important engagement in which it took part. Since the commencement of the operations on the 21st September it had captured 3,190 prisoners and much war material.

Now that the excitement of battles was at an end, men collapsed with fever. As many as 190 men went down in one night, and were carted away in lorries, no ambulances being available. The Canterbury regiment was soon afterwards sent to form part of the garrison on Gallipoli, while the other regiments trekked back to Cairo.

On the way there happened the unfortunate occurrence at Surafend where treacherous natives were constantly thieving from the camps. One night a New Zealand trooper, finding his kit-bag being dragged from under the tent flap, grappled with the thief, who shot him in the stomach with a revolver. The man died, and as there was some delay in bringing the murderer to justice, men from the units of the Anzac Division—New Zealanders, Australians, and British artillerymen—decided upon retribution which came after the women and children of the village had first been placed in safety. In revenge for

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the murder of the New Zealand soldier the infuriated troops went through the village clubbing some of the male inhabitants, after which they set fire to the place. A Bedouin camp near by was similarly treated, and in all 38 natives were killed. Afterwards General Allenby paraded the Anzac Mounted Division and told them that they were murderers. 'Once I was proud of you,' he said, 'I am proud of you no longer,' and with these as parting words he rode away.[1] As various statements about this incident have been made, it is advisable, as a matter of history, to place the actual facts on record. As a result of this disturbance General Allenby refused to forward names of officers and men of Anzac units camped at Surafend for inclusion in the Peace Dispatch. Later, in consideration for the good work done in the field, he relented and forwarded the names in a supplementary dispatch. In an Introduction which he wrote at a still later date for a history of the work of the New Zealanders in Sinai and Palestine he used the following words: 'Nothing daunted these intrepid fighters; to them nothing was impossible. I am proud to have had the honour of commanding them, and they have my congratulations, my thanks and my good wishes.' Generals Maxwell and Murray and Lieut.-Gen. Chauvel were even more warmly eulogistic of the work done by the New Zealand Brigade.

The war being over, the New Zealanders heard loudly the call of their own homeland, but the threatened rising in Egypt kept them for some months as a mounted force in the delta of the Nile, and it was not until the summer of 1919 that they left in two transports for New Zealand. There had been over 1,600 casualties, including over 500 deaths. Altogether the brigade had established a record of which it might well be proud, and had worthily maintained the traditions which had been established on Gallipoli.

[1] Lieut. Moore's account.

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SECTION III

GENERAL SUMMARY

BY THE EDITOR

In boating phrase, in the trials of the Empire, New Zealand has always more than pulled her weight. This was emphatically the case in the Great War. Out of a total population of, in 1914, barely 1,100,000, 124,211 were called up for active service in the war at home or abroad, of whom nearly 92,000 were volunteers. Of the total, the number called up for foreign service was 117,175, and of them 100,444 actually went overseas. This number included 550 nurses—a fine record of women's service—but it did not include 2,091 New Zealanders who joined the Australian and 1,279 who joined the British forces. Nor did it include a certain unknown number who served with the Canadians or the South Africans. Fully 11 per cent. of the total population were actually mobilized, and between 9 per cent. and 10 per cent. of the total population went on overseas service. The total casualties in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force exceeded 58,000, and among them the deaths on active service numbered between 16,000 and 17,000. The recorded number of New Zealanders who were taken prisoners of war was not more than 356. Between 4,000 and 5,000 honours were awarded to those who served in or were connected with the Expeditionary Force, including 9 Victoria Crosses and 117 D.S.O.'s.

Eulogy of the New Zealand troops and of their disciplined valour would be superfluous. But, apart from actual fighting, the New Zealand military effort, and indeed the whole war effort of the Dominion, stands out in respect of the evenness with which the effort was sustained from beginning to end. The war went through, as far as New Zealand's share in it was concerned, more consistently well, perhaps, than was the case in almost any other part of the Empire. The political coalition, while the war lasted, worked with comparative absence of friction, the Dominion was not torn in two over conscription, nor was there in consequence of it or for any other reason change of leadership, remodelling of Government, or General

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Election. The Military Service Act was passed and put into force without any serious difficulty, beyond contributing to a coal strike. Here is an official account of the Act written after the war. 'The Military Service Act, giving power to use compulsion, where volunteers were insufficient, became law on the 1st August 1916. The Act was not necessitated by any shortage of volunteers existing at that time, but by a general feeling that compulsion for all alike was more just in a democratic country than was a voluntary system.'[1] In other words, in New Zealand the requirements of the war were foreseen and provided for betimes, and with the backing of this Act, tactfully but firmly administered, the reinforcements for the New Zealand Division and for the New Zealand Mounted Brigade never fell short. At the darkest time, in April 1918, at the call of the British Government for additional help, the infantry reinforcements were for the time actually doubled: all through the war, whatever was asked of New Zealand in the way of men for active service in one capacity or another was almost certainly complied with, and when the Armistice came the New Zealand Overseas Forces were at full strength. This eminently satisfactory record was, over and above the wise guidance and driving power of the Prime Minister, largely due to the man who was Minister of Defence, and who, owing to the repeated calls to England of Mr. Massey and Sir Joseph Ward, acted as Prime Minister during the war for round about two years. A Defence Expenditure Commission 'to inquire into and report upon the Efficiency and Economy of the Financial Administration of the Defence Department and other Departments acting in aid thereof during the present war' summed up in June 1918[2] that: 'We have looked for failings and recorded them herein; but on the way we found admirable work of much greater quantity,' that 'in all essentials the Administration has succeeded', that £40 millions had been spent with no frauds, that an army of 100,000 men had been excellently and fully equipped and carried to the other end of the world, and that the sick and wounded had been tended 'with efficient and tender care'. 'As to the Minister of Defence . . . we envy him in the years to come his memories

[1] War 1914–18. New Zealand Expeditionary Force. Its provision and maintenance D 51/745, 1919, p. 10.

[2] H–19 c. Session II. 1918, New Zealand, p. 67.

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and his reflections on the work he has done.' But Sir James Allen's personality and able work, supplemented, as it was, by the singularly capable leadership of Sir Alexander Godley, was further helped by the fact, to which reference has already been made, that the statesmen of New Zealand had to deal only with comparatively limited numbers, and by the further fact that, largely because the population was small, this Dominion was more absolutely homogeneous in its outlook on the war than any of the other Dominions except Newfoundland. It was homogeneous in outlook in spite of not being homogeneous in race: the Maoris were as loyal and patriotic as the white citizens—a tribute to the way in which they had been handled. There was no strain in New Zealand answering to the recalcitrant sections of French Canadians or of South African Dutchmen; and, as compared with extreme Labour in Australia, Labour extremists in New Zealand were almost negligible during the war. Various criticisms have from time to time been levelled against the late Mr. Seddon and Sir Joseph Ward, who was Mr. Seddon's political heir, but it served both New Zealand and the Empire well that, when the greatest of crises came, it found in New Zealand a Dominion where the most advanced democracy had been brought into being hand in hand with the most pronounced Imperialism. In the very quarters in which there might have been aloofness from or suspicion of the Empire and its spirit, was to be found the most uncompromising embodiment of Empire patriotism.

New Zealand, too, came into the war as a very well-balanced unit. As has been already noticed, no one city centre was great enough to override all other towns, and the town centres combined were not of sufficient calibre to dominate the countryside. There was evenness in the war effort, there was discipline in the men who went to fight, because the home was a well-balanced home of medium size and evenly distributed natural advantages, wherein the whole community had marched very far in the van of socialistic democracy, but in spite of this, perhaps because of it, without having developed in dangerous magnitude extreme sections antagonistic to the ordered well-being of the main body of citizens. In short, in fighting, in nursing, in giving, in every activity which made for success in the war, New Zealand, year in and year out, throughout the war, put in her full undivided strength.

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On many fields and in many categories New Zealanders served. Egypt, Gallipoli, the Sinai Peninsula, Palestine, the Western Front, all knew well the New Zealand fighting man. There was, again, the New Zealand force which occupied and garrisoned Samoa. There was the Maori Pioneer Battalion and the Rarotonga Labour Force. There was an Engineer Tunnelling Company for the British, and a Wireless Troop for the Indian Government, all the units of all kinds being invariably kept up to strength. Perhaps in flying New Zealand effort was least in evidence; not more than 192 New Zealanders joined the Royal Flying Corps, and the large majority of them only in the last months of the war. This was not because officers and men were not keen to join, but because the policy was to prevent their leaving the Division so that its strength in the field might be fully maintained.

A tribute should be paid to the New Zealand Medical Corps and the New Zealand nurses, and also to the administration which saw to it that the service of hospital ships was steadily maintained. This was the most distant part of the Empire, but distance and growing dangers of the sea were never allowed to check the flow of reinforcements or to bring to a complete standstill repatriation of the disabled. It is the element of distance that places the New Zealand war record in true perspective. Distance added to the New Zealander's love for the Mother Country and his devotion to the common cause. Equally it added among British citizens who were not New Zealanders to admiration for those who heard the call of the race so clearly, understood its meaning so fully, and obeyed it in such abounding fashion.

We have noted New Zealand's message at the beginning of the war, that come good or ill, she was prepared to make any sacrifices to maintain her heritage and her birthright. This message was made good to the letter. The most advanced democracy in the King's Dominions, whose dwelling-place was the most remote of all from the danger zone, by its splendid war record, said the last word as to whether or not the British Empire is a living reality.

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PART III

THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

BY

THE EDITOR

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THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

OUTSIDE Australia, New Zealand, and their island dependencies, the British Colonies and Protectorates in the Pacific in 1914 consisted of the Colony of Fiji, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Protectorate, the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, the Protectorate of the Friendly or Tongan Islands, the Joint Anglo-French Protectorate or condominium of the New Hebrides, and various outlying groups or single islands, including Pitcairn Island, the original home of the descendants of the *Bounty* Mutineers. During the war, in 1915 and 1916, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands were annexed and constituted a colony, in which was included the phosphate-bearing Ocean Island, Fanning Island, on which is the mid-ocean station of the Trans-Pacific Cable, Washington Island, the three Union islands, and in 1919 Christmas Island. Fiji is a fully organized colony, with Governor, Executive and Legislative Councils, the Legislative Council consisting, in addition to the Governor, of nominated, elected, and native members. The Governor of Fiji is also High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, and in that capacity, under the Western Pacific Orders in Council, he has authority and jurisdiction over the other Colonies and Protectorates, subject in the case of the New Hebrides to the terms of the condominium, and in that of Tonga to the terms of the Agreements which have been made with the native king. Under the High Commissioner there is a Resident Commissioner in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, in the British Solomon Islands, and in the New Hebrides, and in Tonga a British Agent and Consul. When the war came the Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner for the Western Pacific was Sir Ernest Bickham Sweet-Escott, K.C.M.G., who, after long service in the Colonies, and holding successively the Governments of the Seychelles, British Honduras, and the Leeward Islands, came to the Pacific as Governor and High Commissioner in 1912. He retired in the summer of 1918, and his successor, Sir Cecil Rodwell, took up his appointment in the following October, just before the end of the war.

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The British Colonies or Dependencies in the Pacific are widely sundered from each other and differ in varying degrees in conditions of land, product, and race ; but with the exception of the phosphates in Ocean Island and in the former German island of Na-uru, and of sugar in Fiji, which has brought to the Fiji Islands many thousands of East Indians, the coco-nut palm supplies, in the form of copra, the main staple of these islands. The head-quarters of the British administration are at Suva in Fiji. France and Germany were neighbours of Great Britain in the Pacific. The French held New Caledonia, the Tahitian group, and a couple of very small islands lying north of Fiji, and they were partners with the English in the New Hebrides. The Germans owned part of New Guinea, the so-called Bismarck Archipelago, the northernmost Solomon Islands, the small but important phosphate island of Na-uru, and the greater part of the Samoan group.

FIJI[1]

The Fiji Islands, over 200 in all, have a land area of almost exactly the same size as Wales, more than half of which is represented by the largest island, Viti Levu, on which is the capital Suva. The 180th meridian passes through the group, which is therefore half-way round the world from London. Tropical, but very healthy for the tropics, and very productive, the islands, according to the last pre-war census, the census of 1911, had at that date a population of just under 140,000, 87,000 of whom were native Fijians, all Christians, 40,000 were East Indians, and under 4,000 pure whites. The finances were flourishing, trade was expanding, the war found Fiji a most prosperous colony, with a bright present, and if a sufficient supply of labour was forthcoming, with a prospect of a still brighter future.

Suva is one of the landing-places of the cable from Canada to Australia, and there is a wireless station four miles from the town. The port is in the line of vessels passing between America and Australia. It is a very fine natural harbour, which could easily be made a base for ships of war, but on account of its distance from the centre of any likely storm of war, it was entirely unprotected. A very proficient rifle club

[1] This account of Fiji is mainly compiled from material supplied by the late Governor Sir E. Bickham Sweet-Escott, K.C.M.G.

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had come into being under an ordinance of 1906, and a school cadet corps had been formed in 1910, but in August 1914 there was no organized body available for defence purposes other than the Fiji Constabulary, numbering in all 14 officers, 30 non-commissioned officers, and 185 other ranks. The rank and file consisted of native Fijians or East Indians, the officers, headed by an Inspector-General, were Europeans. The war called forth a Defence Force ordinance, which became law in December 1914, but was not brought into operation till the end of September 1916. It provided for a Defence Force with a minimum strength of 400, companies of mounted infantry and infantry, to be formed at the discretion of the Governor into a regiment or battalion. Every male British subject of European descent, between the ages of 18 and 45, was made liable to serve, but might commute his liability for a sum of £25, and the compulsory clauses of the ordinance could only be brought into force, for one district or another, after Proclamation by the Governor. The Governor was empowered to call out the force on active service by Proclamation in case of invasion or war, or the danger of war, and provision was made for pay and allowances, for disability pensions and gratuities, and for the support of dependants. The strength of the Force was well maintained to the end of the war, and men over military age constituted themselves, to their great credit, into a veterans' corps, which proved itself to be an efficient and reliable part of the Force.

When the news of the declaration of war reached Fiji on the 5th August 1914, such steps as were possible were immediately taken to defend vital points, and all classes of the population, Europeans, Natives, and Indians alike, gave the Government their loyal support. Offers of help poured in from every side, and nearly all male Europeans of military age in the three most important centres of the Colony were enrolled in the local forces and were quickly trained by young instructors who knew their work.

The German cruisers *Scharnhorst*, *Gneisenau*, *Dresden*, and *Nürnberg* were operating in the Pacific, and the Colony, being near to German Samoa, was in considerable danger of an attack in force. But that danger did not prevent the Colonial Government from seeking the permission of the Imperial Government to attack German Samoa. Other arrangements,

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however, had been made, and in a short time there steamed into the harbour of Suva ships of war of the Australian Navy, with which was associated the French warship *Montcalm*, under the command of Admiral E. Huguet, and transports with a New Zealand Expeditionary Force on board. Through the courtesy of Admiral Sir George Patey, H.M.A.S. *Australia*, and of Colonel R. Logan, who commanded the Expeditionary Force, ten men from the Fiji Local Forces were allowed to accompany the Expeditionary Force, and it was one of these men who hauled down the German flag in Apia. On the morning of the 15th September the Governor was informed that the Wireless Station at Suva had intercepted during the night messages which were passing between two German ships of war, and that the strength of those messages indicated that the ships were not more than two hundred miles from Suva. During the day such steps as were possible were taken to prepare for an attack by an enemy ship, and in the evening the Governor directed the Wireless Officer to send out the following message: 'To Admiral, H.M.A.S. *Australia*. Thanks for message. Shall expect you to-morrow at daylight. Governor of Fiji.' No message had been received from H.M.A.S. *Australia*, which was then in the vicinity of Papua, and the Governor's wireless was dispatched in the hope that it might be picked up by one of the German ships of war. That this hope was fulfilled seems to be clear from the following passage taken from a translation of a letter written by an officer of the *Scharnhorst*, and published later in a South American paper:

'Every one in the ship wanted a raid on Suva or one of the New Zealand ports, but always there was the fear of the Australian battleship *Australia* and of Japanese battleships, which we expected everywhere. We had one run in the Pacific. We picked up a wireless one day that led us to believe that a strong squadron was handy, and how we did cut out the miles. We turned away from our original course, and the two great ships (the *Scharnhorst* and the *Gneisenau*) thrashed along for hours. It is not nice to turn tail, but there was no help for it.'

Later in the war a notable success was scored by Fiji in the capture in September 1917 of Count von Luckner, the captain of the German raider, *See Adler*, a lieutenant, and four German sailors. The capture was effected by a daring piece of bluff

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on the part of a few colonists, who happened to be on board the small and totally unarmed trading steamer *Amra*, at the island of Wakaya, some eight miles east of Levuka, the former capital of Fiji. From statements made by the prisoners, and from the contents of a diary kept by one of the men, it would appear that the *See Adler* was wrecked on the reefs of Mopeha, one of the Society Islands, and that the captain of the ship, with one officer and four men, sailed for the Fiji group in a motor lifeboat, in which were found a machine gun, rifles, and bombs, in the hope that he might capture some schooner carrying copra from Fiji to San Francisco. The distance covered in the boat was not less than 1,500 miles. The prisoners of war were brought first to Levuka and then to Suva, and from the latter place were shipped, under an armed escort of men of the local Defence Force, to New Zealand, to be handed over to the military authorities in the Dominion. It was understood from wireless messages that came through from Pango Pango, the American Naval Station in the Samoan group, that the rest of the officers and men of the shipwrecked *See Adler* captured a French schooner called the *Lutece*, and were endeavouring to make their way to South America.

At the beginning of the war many of the young men of the Colony went to Australia and New Zealand, and some to the United Kingdom, to enlist in the various expeditionary forces. As soon as danger of attack by the German Pacific Squadron had passed away, the Legislative Council passed unanimously a resolution offering to send a European Contingent to England at the Colony's expense, and approval having been obtained, a first contingent of 57 men, including and under the command of Captain C. A. Swinbourne, an Inspector of Police, and at a later date first Commandant of the Fiji Defence Forces, left Fiji on the 1st January 1915. The majority of the men were attached to the King's Royal Rifle Corps, and four months after they left the Colony, helped to withstand a heavy German attack near Ypres. Fourteen of their number were killed in the action or subsequently died of wounds then received. In July 1915 a second contingent of 64 men, including and in charge of Captain Langton, was dispatched to England, Captain Swinbourne having returned to and been retained in Fiji to take over charge of the Local Forces. This second contingent, a first reinforcement of 20 men, which left for

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England in June 1916, and a second reinforcement, also consisting of 20 men, which left in July 1917, were, as the first contingent had been, attached to the King's Royal Rifle Corps. The entire cost of the recruitment, passages to England, pay until enlistment in England, difference between English rates of pay and the New Zealand and Australian rates, and return passages from England of members of the first and second contingents and of the first reinforcement, was borne by the Colony, to the amount of some £40,000. The cost, amounting to £1,000, of raising and dispatching to England the 20 men who formed the second reinforcement, was undertaken by Messrs. Morris and Hedstrom, Limited, one of the leading firms in Fiji, the Managing Director of which, the Hon. J. M. Hedstrom, was the senior elected member of the Legislative Council and a member of the Executive Council. All men belonging to the contingents and reinforcements were credited with 4*s*. a day deferred pay, in addition to their Army pay. The amount required to meet these payments was raised partly by private subscriptions, partly by additional taxation. At the beginning of July 1918 a third reinforcement, 28 strong, left, and like its predecessors, was attached to the King's Royal Rifle Corps, the cost of raising, equipping, and transporting this detachment being borne by an anonymous donor. An anonymous donor also undertook the cost of a third contingent of 61 men, including the Commander, Lieutenant Howard, the rank and file of which were men of mixed descent. This last contingent was, in August 1918, dispatched to New Zealand, to be attached to the New Zealand Expeditionary Forces, but the Armistice came before the men could be sent to the front. The total number who left Fiji in the contingents and their reinforcements, was 250, and in addition it is estimated that 100 enlisted in England, 210 in Australia, and 120 in New Zealand, making a total of 680, who represented the white population of Fiji on active service.

Offers by Fijians, Indians, and half-castes to form platoons and even larger bodies for active service could not be accepted by the Army Council, although the loyalty of those who offered their services was highly appreciated. But early in 1917 another opportunity presented itself of accepting the services of some of the natives of Fiji. The telegrams from Europe showed that labour battalions were needed at the different

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fronts, and the Hon. Henry Marks, C.B.E., the Managing Director of the large firm, Messrs. Henry Marks & Co., and a member of the Executive and Legislative Councils, offered on behalf of his firm and himself to place £10,000 at the disposal of the Colonial Government for raising, equipping, and transporting to and from England or France a labour detachment of 100 Natives, and for paying the separation allowances of dependants of men of the detachment. The offer was gratefully accepted, and a splendid body of Natives, 100 strong, under the command of two European officers and six European non-commissioned officers, left Fiji on the 17th of May 1917. The Commandant was Captain K. J. Allardyce, Native Commissioner, ably assisted by Lieutenant Frank Williams, who had had great experience in handling native labour on the Suva wharves. Some of the Indians and half-castes in Fiji, whose offers of service could not be accepted, left for New Zealand at their own expense, and were successful in obtaining enrolment in the pioneer battalion of the Dominion.

The Labour Detachment reached Calais at the beginning of June 1917. There, and wherever they served, in France or in Italy, the Fijians won golden opinions, the Commandants of the bases invariably testifying to their exemplary conduct and excellent work. At Calais they had a record of being 'trustworthy, energetic, and hardworking', the best class of labour at the port. At Taranto it was reported that 'they leave behind them an appreciation of their general work with all those with whom they have come in contact'; while the tribute paid to them by the Commandant at Marseilles was that they proved themselves 'our best labour men during a long and trying period'. When, after an absence of two and a half years, they landed again at Suva on the 31st October 1919, 'the men who took part in the Great War' were welcomed in native fashion at the wharf, a guard of honour from the Fiji Defence Force escorted them, and in the Public Park the Governor gave them a message of appreciation from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in which Lord Milner eulogized their good work, their endurance and patience, and spoke of them as having 'set their hands to new and difficult tasks' and 'endured the trials of a strange climate'. A substantial supplement to congratulations and welcome was the distribution among them of £2,000, accumulated back pay.

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Eleven of them died of phthisis and kindred ailments while on active service and one on the way home.

Including the Labour Detachment, Fiji sent 788 to the war, of whom 131 are known to have been killed in action or to have died from wounds or other causes. The distinctions won by men from Fiji included, in the Fiji contingent and reinforcements :

1 M.C. and Bar, awarded to N. W. Faddy.
3 M.C.'s.
2 D.C.M.'s
1 M.M. and Bar.
3 M.M.'s.

In the Labour Corps Captain Allardyce received the M.B.E., and Ratu Charlie Colata and Ratu Lala were each awarded the M.S.M.

The interests of those who crossed the seas from Fiji on active service, and especially of the sick and wounded in the hospitals of the United Kingdom were watched over by a former Governor, Sir Everard im Thurn, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B., all payments by way of relief in England were made through him, and his devotion to his work was gratefully and publicly acknowledged.

It may be well to give one notable illustration of native eagerness to serve in the war. This was the case of Ratu Sukuna, a young Fijian native chief of high rank, who was an undergraduate at Oxford when the war broke out. After vainly endeavouring by every means to join some British unit, he crossed to France, which he had visited before the war, and enlisted in the French Foreign Legion, with which he served with distinction for some two years. Afterwards he reluctantly obeyed a summons back to Fiji, where it was thought at the moment that his services were required in the Native Department. But he very soon returned to England as a non-commissioned officer in the Fiji Labour Corps, where his influence over the natives was of much value. Once more he was recalled for service in Fiji, but very soon after the Armistice was signed he came back to England, resumed his place at Oxford, took his degree, and immediately began to prepare himself to be called to the Bar. He should hereafter play a great part in helping both the Colonial Government and his own people.

Fiji was one of the Colonies in which a public loan was

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raised 'for the purpose of contributing towards the expenses of the present war'. Under an ordinance passed in November 1916 a loan for an unlimited amount, in the form of debentures, was issued on the 8th of January 1917, both interest and capital being guaranteed by the Imperial Government. The subscriptions to the loan, which were re-lent to the Imperial Government, amounted to £439,162.

Government and private citizens co-operated in a very notable manner to meet the cost of sending men on active service and caring for them while on active service. In no Colony did subscribers come forward with more openhanded generosity. In addition to the payments which have already been noticed, over £16,000 were subscribed to a Fiji Day Fund, formed for the purpose of giving relief to the sick and wounded and disabled among those who went to the war, to the dependants of those who lost their lives, and to discharged soldiers in need of help to return to the colony; while another fund, a Fiji Contingent Fund, raised to assist in meeting the cost of deferred pay to the members of the Fiji Contingents at the rate of 4*s*. a day, realized £9,000. Very early in the war in November 1914, the Legislative Council voted £10,000 to the Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund, and this was supplemented by private subscriptions to the amount of £13,000. The Red Cross was strongly supported. The total amount subscribed to the funds under the control of the Fiji Branch of the British Red Cross Society was nearly £65,000. Of this total not far short of £14,000 were subscribed directly to the funds of the branch, more than half of which was expended in material, subsequently made into garments, and sent to the Society in England; nearly £7,000 were subscribed for the benefit of the Fiji contingents in comforts and ambulances, the Indian Soldiers' Fund also benefiting; £44,000 were realized in answer to special appeals for the Red Cross; and remittances were also made to the Australian Red Cross, Fiji being mindful of the protection given to the Colony by the ships of the Australian Navy in the early months of the war. Subscriptions to the Lord Kitchener Memorial Fund amounted to over £3,000. To King George's Fund for Sailors the Legislative Council voted £1,000, and a few pounds were added by the staff and employees of the Suva Harbour Works. Among many other funds which found support were the Indian

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Wounded Fund, Fiji, as has been said, having a large Indian element in its population, the Australia Day Fund, Belgian Relief and Self Denial Funds, and a fund in aid of the dependants of the sailors who were lost in the battle of Jutland. All classes of the coloured population, no less than the Europeans, readily subscribed to the various funds. The natives of the Province of Rewa on their own initiative raised £1,500 to provide an aeroplane for the Royal Flying Corps, the people of another district subscribed £500 for a Red Cross ambulance, and these examples were followed by others. In all, the subscriptions from firms or private persons, white and coloured, to war funds and charities may be taken very roughly to have amounted to between £110,000 and £115,000. The ladies of Fiji, under the presidency of Lady Escott, were unremitting in war work, and special mention should be made of Mrs. (now Lady) Eyre Hutson, wife of the then Colonial Secretary of Fiji, for her efforts in connexion with the provision of comforts for the men at the front.

There was much giving, but the Colony and its people could afford to give, for few parts of the British Empire suffered financially less from the war than Fiji. Four-fifths of its trade is with British Australasia, its market is comparatively near at hand, it was at the other end of the world from the centre of disturbance. After the first few months of the war the German menace in the main disappeared from the Pacific, and steamer communication was fairly well maintained. Wherever sugar was grown it brought wealth in these years of war, and Fiji was no exception to the rule. The beginning of the war caused temporary dislocation of trade, and the last year of the war, 1918, was marked by drought and shortage of labour, which injured sugar, while an epidemic of influenza coincided with the Armistice. But taking the war as a whole, except for a moderate increase in the cost of articles, the Colony was not seriously affected, and the Government had in 1915 taken power by a Necessary Commodities Control Ordinance to fix maximum prices. Revenue and trade returns pointed to prosperity, and in the bumper year of 1916 a war tax was levied in the form of an export duty on sugar of 5*s.* a ton. There was a certain number of enemy aliens who were deported, or otherwise disposed of, under an ordinance of 1915, and war legislation generally took much the same course as

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elsewhere. A very large proportion of the men of military age, and some above that age, left their posts in the Colony for various kinds of war work elsewhere, but the duties of the vacated posts were carried on with reasonable efficiency by the over-aged men who remained and especially by the women. Fiji was on all sides girt with friends not with foes, and while extreme distance from the seats of war did not in the least diminish patriotism, the life of the Colony was in no way jeopardized or its activities curtailed by the upheaval in Europe, so long as the British Empire remained intact and Allied ships commanded the sea.

THE GILBERT AND ELLICE ISLANDS COLONY

The various groups and islands which constitute the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony lie to the north of Fiji, the population of the islands numbers about 34,000. At the beginning of the war the Europeans were in all slightly under 200, about 80 of whom were employees of the Pacific Phosphate Company on Ocean Island with their wives and children, and about 30 employees, with their families, of the Pacific Cable Board at Fanning Island, which island was incorporated in the Colony in the course of the war. There were some 30 Government officials with dependants, and over 40 members of missions, chiefly Roman Catholics. There were from 250 to 300 Asiatics in the islands, principally Japanese mechanics and coolies employed at Ocean Island, with a few Japanese and Chinese traders in the Gilbert group. Ocean Island, which lies to the west of and astride the Gilbert group, was and is the headquarters of the Resident Commissioner. A wireless station, erected in 1916, connects it with the outer world.[1]

Of the white population over 40 went on active service. They included 27 employees of the Phosphate Company in Ocean Island, two from Fanning Island, five Government officials, being all who could be spared by the Government, or who, having received permission to serve, were able to pass the medical test; and a few French priests of the Roman Catholic Mission. Some of this small number died on active

[1] The following account was in the main compiled by the Resident Commissioner during the war, Mr. E. C. Eliot, to whom the illustrations are also due.

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service. Early in 1918 permission was granted to 25 non-commissioned officers and men of the Native Police Force to proceed to New Zealand for training for service at the front, but the Armistice was declared just as their training was completed. Good reports were received of the discipline of these men, three of whom died of influenza while in New Zealand. Applications for war service in any capacity were received from natives of every island, and on a number of islands the youths formed themselves into local corps, being drilled with dummy rifles by ex-members of the Police Force. For the period of the war European Defence Forces were maintained on Ocean Island and on Fanning Island, the Ocean Island Volunteer Reserve owing much to the fostering care of the Resident Commissioner, who was president of the force. No difficulty was experienced in obtaining volunteers in the earlier days, but as the need for men at the front became more apparent, the best of the white residents left for active service. In spite of willing assistance rendered by men medically unfit for overseas duty, and by Government officials debarred from leaving their posts, it became necessary to provide for compulsory service both on Ocean and on Fanning Islands. The principal duties of these forces were to protect the wireless station at Ocean Island and the Fanning Island cable station; to prevent supplies of coal, oil, and foodstuffs from falling into enemy hands; and to provide for the safety of women and children in the event of a hostile visit. On Ocean Island the Native Armed Constabulary, a small but efficient force, co-operated with the European Defence Force in training for these emergencies.

In the early days of the war the German Pacific Fleet was known to be in the vicinity of these islands. At that time the wireless station had not been erected at Ocean Island, but, as is told later, an enemy warship visited Fanning Island in September 1914. Both in 1916 and in 1917 information was received to the effect that German raiders were at work in these waters. These proved to be the *Wolf* and *See Adler*, each of which secured a number of victims in the Western Pacific. Quantities of wreckage, the result of the *See Adler's* operations, were washed ashore on islands of the Southern Gilbert group. A Japanese battleship and a first-class cruiser visited Ocean Island in October 1914. The only other visit

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paid by a man-of-war was that of H.M.A.S. *Brisbane* in January 1918.

The total sum given to war funds which passed through the hands of the Government was £12,617 16*s.* 10*d.*, allotted as follows :

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund . .	9,035	11	10
Belgian Relief Fund	1,932	9	1
Lord Kitchener Memorial Fund	426	18	5
St. John of Jerusalem and British Red Cross Funds	1,101	6	6
Australian War Funds	121	11	0
	£12,617	16	10

Many of the white residents on Ocean Island and Fanning Island, the majority of whom have their homes in Australia, contributed direct to Australian war funds ; this accounts for the comparatively small sum given through the local Government by non-natives. Of the total contributions recorded over £11,000 came from native sources.

In the case of the natives the difficulty was to curb reckless generosity. Native contributions were made in copra, and early in 1915 signs of a drought period were observed. This drought lasted for three years, from June 1915 to June 1918, and both on Ocean Island and in many of the islands of the Gilbert group was the worst drought period known to the oldest inhabitants. Many thousands of coco-nut trees died, and the native community was hard pressed for food. Native taxation had to be reduced in 1918, and on some islands Government relief measures became necessary. But for this serious drought, which cut off the source of native wealth, donations to war funds would probably have been three times as great as those recorded, and judged by their contributions in bad seasons, the islanders displayed patriotism to the Empire of a high order. Reference to this patriotism was made in the House of Commons in August 1917 by the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Walter (now Lord) Long, who quoted the words of natives of Marakei in the Gilbert group to the effect that, being prevented from assisting the Empire at war in any other way than through their coco-nuts, ' they will contribute nuts unceasingly for the war and cease not till the war is over '.

Throughout the war the prices of all imported goods rose steadily, and the rise continued after the signing of the

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Armistice. That the victory, long expected and confidently looked to as the dawning of an era of prosperity and content, did not relieve the necessities of the position and bring an early return to normal conditions caused inevitable disappointment to the native mind, and in these remote Pacific Islands, as in the United Kingdom, the aftermath of the war was more productive of strain and difficulty than the war itself.

TONGA

The Tonga group or Friendly Islands, only about 250 square miles in area, are near neighbours of Fiji, lying 200 miles to the south-east, on the usual steamer route to New Zealand. The natives are all Christians, nine-tenths being Wesleyans; they are more Europeanized than the Pacific Islanders generally, and live under a native monarchy with a Legislative Assembly, which was reconstituted at the end of 1914. The relations of Tonga to Great Britain are based upon formal treaty and Protectorate, and the British officer on the spot is not, as in other groups, a Resident Commissioner, but an Agent and Consul, who does not interfere in the internal administration so far as the natives of the islands alone are concerned. The following account of *Tonga's efforts during the Great War* was compiled by Mr. J. Davrell Wall, honorary secretary of the local branch of the Patriotic League of Britons Overseas, and forwarded by Mr. McOwan, the British Agent and Consul.

Owing to a temporary interruption of the mail service news of the outbreak of war did not reach Tonga until nearly three months after the commencement of hostilities. It was generally believed that the war would last but a few months, hence no organized methods of assistance were adopted beyond an appeal for subscriptions in aid of the Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund. At the end of nine months, however, it became evident that the war was still far from the end, and as only £254 had been subscribed, it was felt that if the best results were to be obtained, all patriotic efforts should be organized and co-ordinated. Consequently, in July 1915, a branch of the Patriotic League of Britons Overseas was established with this object in view, and it was arranged that efforts connected with the war should be conducted under the

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auspices of the League. Thenceforward greater activity prevailed and excellent results were obtained.

With but few exceptions British residents contributed liberally and willingly. Throughout the whole period of the war their donations, augmented by a small sum from friends of Allied nationality, amounted to £3,525 4*s.* 1*d.*, and were allocated as follows :

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Prince of Wales's Fund	471	19	10
British Red Cross Fund	1,064	4	6
Aircraft Fund	323	14	8
British Mercantile Marine	300	0	0
Recruits' Fund	197	11	6
Soldiers' Gifts Fund	109	2	9
Lord Kitchener Memorial Fund	700	0	0
Sundry Other Funds	358	10	10
	£3,525	4	1

The Royal Family, chiefs, and people of Tonga also contributed generously, their donations aggregating £5,983 15*s.* 4*d.* The various sums which constituted this amount were allocated in the following manner :

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Prince of Wales's Fund	97	0	0
Lord Kitchener Memorial Fund	4,202	8	8
British Red Cross Fund	1,684	6	8
	£5,983	15	4

A sum of £500 was also given by the Government of Tonga to the British Red Cross Society for the purchase of a motor ambulance. Hostilities ceased before the amount reached its destination, and the gift has been made available for any other purpose connected with the war. The total of the contributions in money from Tonga was therefore £10,008 19*s.* 5*d.*, a creditable achievement for a little country containing but 22,000 natives and 250 British residents inclusive of women and children.

Considerable activity was also displayed in the matter of recruiting. Two years before the war ended nearly every British subject who was regarded as eligible had offered himself for active service. No less than 48 of them were accepted, of whom 10 laid down their lives.[1] Six Tongan lads also enlisted,

[1] In August 1919 a meeting of British residents in Tonga was held to raise a fund for a permanent memorial to those of their number who fell in the war.

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and many more were preparing to embark for enlistment when news of the signing of the Armistice arrived.

Among other efforts in Tonga was the establishment of a Sewing Guild which rendered good service. Garments for invalided soldiers were made and forwarded to New Zealand. Each recruit on his departure for enlistment was presented with a parcel of clothing, and woollen socks and other comforts were made and sent forward to the men in the trenches. The ladies of Tonga were untiring in their efforts, they took a large share in the entertainments which were organized by the Patriotic League as 'send offs' to the various batches of recruits, and they gave appreciable help in other entertainments for the purpose of raising funds. Suitable Christmas and Easter gifts were sent to the men at the front.

The Government of Tonga manifested its loyalty to its Protector and its sympathy with the Allies in many ways. Besides the gift already referred to, the Government always showed its readiness to support the cause of the Allies. Legislation dealing with the subjects of enemy countries was introduced and passed without a dissenting voice. Generous treatment was accorded to the local branch of the Patriotic League. Rebates of customs duties were granted on all articles imported by the branch, special concessions were made in regard to postage, and all the society's printing, which included the issue from time to time of a small periodical for recording and stimulating patriotic efforts, was done at the Government Printing Office free of charge. It was therefore not surprising that the people were always ready to show their sympathy in a practical manner, as was evidenced by their generous response to all appeals for subscriptions.

While the material side of assistance to the Allies received every consideration, the need for spiritual help was not overlooked. Sunday after Sunday prayers were offered up in all the churches for the success of the Allies and the consequent triumph of justice and right. In special circumstances days for intercessions were also set apart. Efforts throughout the war were marked by loyalty and wholeheartedness, and the manner and scale on which the signing of peace was celebrated was a fitting conclusion. Three days were devoted to processions, sports, and public festivities, in which British and Tongan alike co-operated. A touching feature of the occasion

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was the unveiling by the Queen of Tonga of an Honour Board erected in the Queen Victoria Memorial Hall by the Patriotic League to the memory of the men who enlisted from Tonga, and the presentation of tokens of welcome to the returned soldiers who were present. The intervening Sunday was set apart for thanksgiving throughout all the churches for the Divine help which enabled the Allies to secure victory and to establish peace on a basis which it is hoped will be for all time.

THE NEW HEBRIDES

In the New Hebrides group, which lies west of Fiji, and which is under Franco-British condominium, the European residents in all only number a little over 600, the numbers of the native population being variously estimated from 50,000 to over 100,000. The small British community contributed 18 men to the armies of the Empire, 15 as combatants, three as non-combatants. The non-combatants were missionaries, two of whom joined the Royal Army Medical Corps, and one was commissioned as a Chaplain to the Forces. The sums collected and remitted by the British Resident Commissioner from British settlers and others in the group were :

	£	s.	d.
British Red Cross Fund	853	8	10
Belgian Relief Fund	443	13	0
Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund	105	2	0
Soldiers and Sailors' Families	93	9	9
Overseas League	53	3	0
Total	£1,548	16	7[1]

The British community also contributed generously to French funds. A letter from the New Hebrides, written in the course of the war, testified that 'from this little corner of the world the war has evoked no less devotion to the great cause than in other more important places. Many of our young men, both French and English, have paid the last sacrifice, some quite at the beginning of the struggle. Those who have been left, including some of the more civilized natives, have contributed, and continue to contribute with extreme generosity to the various Red Cross and other War Funds.'

[1] These particulars were supplied by Mr. Merton King, C.M.G., British Resident Commissioner for the New Hebrides.

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THE BRITISH SOLOMON ISLANDS

With the exception of Fiji, the British Solomon Islands, lying to the far north-west of Fiji, were and are the most important of the British Pacific Island dependencies in area, population, and capacity for development, but they were, and are, at the same time by far the least advanced, and the majority of the natives were still in a state of barbarism. Prior to 1914, however, coco-nut growing had attracted to the islands the great firms of Lever Brothers and Burns Philp & Company, under whose auspices large but isolated areas had been systematically developed in various parts of the group, and the employees of these firms, with a few other traders, missionaries, and Government officials, made up a European population slightly larger than that of the New Hebrides, but under 700, among a native population which probably does not exceed 100,000. The war could have and did have little effect on the Solomon Islands beyond raising the cost of food-stuffs.

The following contributions to war funds and charities came from these islands :

	£	s.	d.
Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund (including £200 subscribed by natives)	2,019	5	1
Order of St. John and British Red Cross . .	874	12	1
Tulagi Branch, N.S.W. Division Australian Red Cross	316	1	6
Remitted by private collectors to Australia . .	750	0	0
Total .	£3,959	18	8

NA-URU

Pleasant Island, or Na-uru, lies westward of Banaba or Ocean Island, and these two adjoining islets lie to the west of the Gilbert group. It was a German possession which came into British keeping in November 1914. Like Ocean Island, it is of very limited area, though rich in phosphates, and from it 21 white residents, all employees of the Pacific Phosphate Company, and mainly Australians, volunteered for active service, of whom two were killed. A sum of £1,817 was jointly subscribed by Europeans and natives to war charities, the British and Australian Red Cross, the Prince of Wales's Fund, the Lord Kitchener Memorial Fund, the Sydney branch of the Y.M.C.A., and the Australian Repatriation Fund.

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FANNING ISLAND

On Fanning Island, as has been said above, there is a landing station of the All-Red Trans-Pacific Submarine Cable, and for this reason alone among the British Pacific Islands it received unwelcome attention from the Germans in the early days of the war. It is a small lonely coral island lying in the very centre of the Pacific, a little north of the Equator, due south of Honolulu, 3,458 nautical (about 4,000 statute) miles south-west of Vancouver Island, 2,043 nautical (about 2,350 statute) miles north-east of Suva in Fiji. From the cable station at Bamfield on the west coast of Vancouver Island to Fanning Island is the longest single stretch of ocean cable in the world. At the beginning of the war the staff of the cable station, at Whaler Anchorage on the island, was composed of 25 white men, five of whom were married and had their wives with them, together with several children. About four miles distant from the station, at English Harbour, was an estate settlement, the head-quarters of a copra exporting syndicate, where there were three or four white managers or overseers, supervising a number of indentured coloured labourers from the Gilbert Islands. From among these labourers the cable station was supplied with servants and workmen. In the early morning of the 7th of September 1914 the German cruiser *Nürnberg*, flying the French flag, and with a collier accompanying her, appeared off the island, two boats' crews of armed men with a machine gun were landed at the station, the telegraph instruments were broken up, the engine house, engines, and electric light plant were wrecked, the cables were cut and dragged out of position, but no damage was done to private houses and property, the telegraph staff were treated with courtesy, and no visit was paid to the estate settlement. Having completed their work of destruction, the Germans in the afternoon went on their way rejoicing, under the impression that they had not merely cut a submarine cable but also destroyed apparatus used for wireless telegraphy. Fortunately, before they had taken actual possession of the instrument room, the staff had been able to send a notice of their landing both to Bamfield and to Suva, but it was not until the 25th of September that a relief ship chartered at Honolulu reached the island, and meanwhile the marooned telegraphists had managed

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on the 22nd to communicate with Suva. They found it impossible to raise and repair the Bamfield cable, but one of the operators, Mr. Hugh Greig, using a pickaxe for a grapnel, and working under sea, contrived to raise and secure the two broken ends of the Suva cable, buoying them up by lashing them to wooden rafts made for the occasion from such plants and barrels as were to hand, and in the absence of any spare cable, connecting the two ends with ordinary copper wire. The electricians, in the meantime, pieced together the broken parts of some of the instruments, and the result was reopening of communication with the outer world. It was one of many illustrations during the war of British resourcefulness in out of the way corners of the earth.[1]

[1] See the Pacific Cable account for 1914–15, H. of C. Paper 310, 23rd July 1915, and see also an Address on Imperial Telegraphic Communications by Mr. A. Avery, published in the *Telegraph and Telephone Journal*, May 1921. The Editor is indebted to the courtesy of the Secretary to the Pacific Cable Board and of the Secretary to the London Telephone and Telegraph Society.

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Idlib

Ras el Basit

Orontes River

Maarit en Naaman

Ladikiya

Kalat el Mudik

Tama

Banias

HAMA

Tartus

Orontes River

HOMS

Shamsin

Tripoli

Hasiya

Ras Baalbek

Nebk

Baalbek

BEIRUT

Rayak

Kuteife

DAMASCUS

30·9·18 Kaukab 4 & 12 A.L.H. Regts

Aust. Mtd. Division 1·10·18

3 A.L.H. Bde 29·9·18 Sasa

Tyre

Nahr el Kasimiyeh

Kuneitra

3 A.L.H. Bde. 28·9·18

Deir es Saras

Safed

Jisr Benat Yakub Aust. Mtd. Div. 27·9·18

Acre

HAIFA

Sea of Galilee

Tiberius

Mezerib

Nazareth

Semakh 4 A.L.H. Bde 25·9·18

Deraa

El Afuli

Beisan

Bosra eski Sham

20·9·18 3 A.L.H. Bde

Jenin

Tulkeram

Mafrak

Arsuf

Approx. line March to Sept. 1918

Nablus

Jordan River

JAFFA

LUDD 1 A.L.H. Bde. 16·11·17

30·4·18 to 4·5·18 Anz. & Aust. Divs (Raid) 19 to 29·9·18 Anzac Mtd. Div.

Es Salt

RAMLEH 1 A.L.H. Bde. 16·11·17

Nalin

Amman 21·3·18 to 2·4·18 Anz. Mtd. Div. (Raid) 19 to 29·9·18 Anzac Mtd. Div.

Ghoraniyeh Bdge. 11·4·18 Anz. Mtd. Div.

Junction Stn.

Jericho 21·2·18 Anz. Mtd. Div.

Esdud

9·12·17 10 A.L.H. Regt.

JERUSALEM

Dead Sea

Anzac & Aust. Mtd. Divs.

Huj 8·11·17

GAZA

Anzac Div. 26-27·3·17 Anzac & Aust. Divs. 19·4·17

Aust. Mtd. Div.

Sheria 6·11·17

Khuweilfeh 1 A.L.H. & N.Z. Bde

Rafa 9·1·17 Anzac Mtd. Div.

BEERSHEBA Anzac and Aust. Mtd. Divs. 31·10·17

El Kerak

PORT SAID

Bay of Tina

Sebkhet el Bardawil

EL ARISH 21·12·16 Anzac Mtd. Div.

Romani

Mazar 17·8·16 Anz. Mtd. Div.

Bir el Abd 4th to 9th Aug. 1916 Anzac Mtd. Division

Katia

Wadi el Arish

Wadi Ghuzzeh

Kantara

Magdhaba 23·12·16 Anzac Mtd. Div.

El Auja

Maghara

Kossaima

ISMAILIA

SUEZ CANAL

13·4·16 9 A.L.H. Regt. Jifjaffa

Bir el Hassana

Bir el Mayein

Themada

Bir el Tawal

SUEZ

Bir Murr

Nekhl 11 A.L.H. Regt

El Themed

Gulf of Suez

Wady Arabah

El Gueira

MAAN

AKABA

Gulf of Akaba

— SCALE OF MILES —

Miles 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 Miles

A.S. Murray

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THE PACIFIC OCEAN, 1914

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